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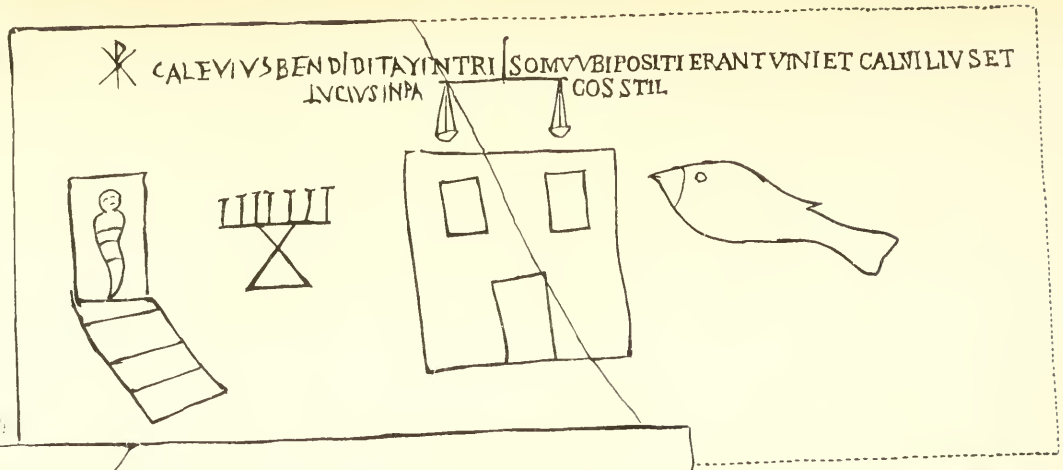

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CHRISTIAN EPITAPHS

OF THE

FIRST SIX CENTURIES,

BY THE

REV. JOHN McCAUL, LL.D.,

PRESIDENT OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, TORONTO, ETC.

Οἱ νεκροὶ ἐγερθήσονται ἄφθαρτοι.

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PREFACE.

The following selection of Epitaphs, with the expansions, translations, and notes, originally appeared as a series of articles in the *Canadian Journal.* The epitaphs have been both selected and treated without any controversial aim; my object has been to provide a manual suited to the wants of those, who may desire to enter on the study of the sepulchral inscriptions of the early ages of Christianity as a branch of Epigraphy.

I have limited myself to the first six centuries P.C., not merely because the Consular *fasti* extend to about this period, but also because there are scarcely any subsequent epitaphs worthy of being ranked with specimens of ancient Roman Epigraphy. By adopting this limitation, also, I have had the important advantage, throughout my examination of the Roman epitaphs, of the valuable aid supplied by the Cavaliere De Rossi's learned labors, in his "*Inscriptiones urbis Romæ Septimo Sæculo Antiquiores.*" In selecting only those inscriptions that bear dates, I have been influenced by the desire to leave as little ground as possible for questioning the age. No example has been given without *examination of competent evidence

* No one, but those conversant with epigraphy, can fully appreciate the necessity for such examination. There are whole classes of inscriptions so justly suspected, that no scholar would accept one of them without the greatest caution; such, for example, are the Spanish, given under the name of Cyriac of Ancona, or on the authority of Morales or Occo, or the Italian, vouched for by Ligorio, a name of itself sufficient to excite the strongest suspicion. Ligorio, a Neapolitan, was a practised forger of inscriptions, which he sold to collectors, and many of his impostures have been exposed by scholars. His work, however, was confined to imitation of the Heathen *tituli.* But there were others who took up the manufacture of Christian inscriptions. The celebrated epitaph on *Daciana Diaconissa,* who was "the daughter of Palmatus the Consul, and the sister of Victorinus the Presbyter, and prophesied many things," although it passed the ordeal of Maffei's fastidious scrutiny, is now known to have been forged, and has been traced to Ferrara. See De Rossi, p. xxx. And yet Ackner and Müller, in "Die Römischen Inscriften in Dacien," published at Vienna in

for its genuineness and correctness; and I have invariably stated the place

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1865, cite this inscription as genuine. Bosio's great work in Italian, on the catacombs of Rome, is chiefly known by the edition in Latin of Paul Aringhi, who published what professed to be *Roma subterranea novissima post Antonium Bosium et Joannem Severanum*, in two volumes, that have a reputation far beyond their merits. There is no doubt that a second Ligorio imposed on both Severano and Aringhi. See De Rossi, p. xxvi. Again, Boldetti, who published what may be regarded as a supplement to Bosio, was so deficient in scholarship and critical acuteness, and so regardless of accuracy, that no reliance can be placed on his copies, even of inscriptions that he himself saw. As this may appear to some to be too harsh a censure on a writer whose authority was once held in high estimation, I subjoin one of the many adverse opinions pronounced on him by De Rossi, who was thoroughly acquainted with his work in all its details: *Hujus* (*scil.* Boldetti) *in id genus apographis excipiendis imperitiam et incuriam non centena, sed millena exempla testantur.* See p. 24.

In p. 82, 2nd edit. of "The Church in the Catacombs," Dr. Maitland remarks: "A curious epitaph found at Verona, probably not older than the seventh century, states why Felicianus wished a tomb reserved for himself alone: (Gruter.)

D. M.
FELICIANI · VERONEN
MIHIMET · FELICIANVS · VERONEN ·
· SACRVM · CONST ·
QVI INQVIETVS VIXI
NVNC TANDEM MORTVVS
NON LVBENS QVIESCO
SOLVS CVR SIM QVAESERIS [*sic*]
VT · IN · DIE · CENSORIO · SINE
IMPEDIMENTO · FACILIVS
RESVRGAM

To the Divine Manes of Felicianus of Verona. I, Felicianus, of Verona, have consecrated this tomb for myself. I, who lived restless, being now at length dead, rest unwillingly. Do you ask why I am alone? That in the day of judgment I may more readily arise, without impediment."

There are, I think, but few epigraphists whose suspicion as to the antiquity of this epitaph would not be excited by its style and language, and their suspicions would, unquestionably, be just, for this Felicianus of Verona, the author of it, lived about the middle of the 15th century. He was a collector of inscriptions, medals and curiosities, and wasted much time and money on the application of chemistry to the production of gold. He is also known by his edition, in conjunction with Ziletti, of Petrarch's *Degli uomini famosi*, Verona, 1476. Maitland's mistake regarding this inscription is the more remarkable, as Fleetwood, in 1694 (*Sylloge*, p. 198), warned his readers not to accept this epitaph as ancient, and stated that its author flourished about 1463 A.D.; and similar information is given by Gudius, in the edition of Gruter's *Thesaurus*, Amsterdam, 1707.

(when known) where each was found, with the authority both for this statement and for the text that I have adopted.

The figures in the *lithographic plates are † fac-similes of the originals, as they are represented in De Rossi's work; the other inscriptions are given, according to common usage, in ordinary type. In these, consequently, there are omissions of various particulars, such as leaf-points, monograms, symbols, and other pictorial characteristics, but the signification of the words is in no wise affected, and the copies are printed with as much accuracy as I could attain.

The notes that I have given are few and generally brief, as many of the difficulties are explained in the expansions and translations. In the present publication, I have prefixed an Introduction, which will, I venture to believe, be regarded as a useful addition, especially as some of the topics that are treated in it have never before, ‡ so far as I am aware, been dis-

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Other authors might be mentioned in illustration of the necessity for examining the authority for each inscription, but, probably, enough has been said on the subject. It is a more agreeable duty to bear my testimony to the remarkable merits of the Cavaliere De Rossi's elaborate volume, a work which is *facile princeps* of all that have been published on the subject, and to which I am largely indebted for assistance.

* I have added to those that appeared in the *Journal* a frontispiece, in which are given three inscriptions that have special interest, one on account of the symbols, another on acount of the unexplained letters, and the third as presenting the earliest example of a cross in a dated inscription. They, also, are copied from De Rossi's work, but the first and second do not exactly represent the forms of the stones, as the lithographer, in order to get the figures into the page, was obliged to make one lap over the other, and to omit the lower line of the second. In every other respect, however, they are faithful copies.

† I have examined Perret's splendid volumes, but have not taken any extract from them. Their accuracy, even pictorially, cannot be relied on. Cardinal Wiseman notices them with the mild censure "perhaps somewhat overdone;" but Burgon does not hesitate to call them "simply *a romance*." De Rossi handles with tenderness "la grandioza edizione," that "malgrado i suoi difetti" has assisted in spreading a taste for the study of the Catacombs, and which has cost the French nation "duecento quarantamila franchi." The plates subjoined to his own "Roma Sotterranea Cristiana," Roma, 1864, 1867, 4 vol., 2 of text (Italian), and 2 of plates, will bear close inspection.

‡ While these sheets containing the Preface and Introduction are in progress through the press, I have had my attention called to the *Edinburgh Review*, No. CCXLV, containing a paper on De Rossi's and other works relating to Christian and Jewish inscriptions. If I had seen it at an earlier period, I should have referred in more than one place in my notes on the Epitaphs to this very interesting article.

cussed in English. For further information on many of these, the reader is referred to De Rossi's *Prolegomena.* In order that requisite facilities for reference may be afforded to students, I have also subjoined an Index.

Although I have endeavored to make this little work as complete as possible with a view to the purpose for which it is intended, yet I am sensible that I have not accomplished all that I desired. A sufficient apology will, I trust, be found in the difficulties and disadvantages under which, in young communities, the rarer subjects of investigation are studied and the results of such study are published. I gladly acknowledge the benefits that I have derived from the use of the fine collection of epigraphic works belonging to our University, but I have often had occasion to regret my inability to consult other books, such as can be found only in Libraries that are the growth of centuries.

J. M^c^C.

Univ. Coll., Toronto,
December, 31, 1868.

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DATES.

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* Depending on the revolutions of the earth and moon, to which may be added the cycles of Indictions. Such marks, then, include days of the week, of the month, of the moon, Easter day, &c. The term *Hypatic* (from ὕπατος = *consul*) is applied to the mode of marking the year by stating the Consuls or Consul.

† Printed by mistake, in p. 17, as 335.

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TO Ī KAI TO Ī	360	"	10
Tauro et Florentio	361	"	7
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* Printed by mistake, in p. 3, as *Constanti.* † Printed by mistake, in p. 21, as 354.

‡ Printed by mistake, in p. 3, as 379.

			PAGE.
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——?	434	"	7
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(*τοῦ ἔτους ϋδῆ.*	544	"	50)
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The number of dated Roman epitaphs of the first six centuries, including fragments, is 1374. Of these only 34 are older than 312 A.D., the year in which Maxentius was defeated by Constantine. There is but one of the first century, two are of the second, and twenty-four of the third.

* Cut on the stone by mistake ΙΦΑΙΠΠΟΥ.

INTRODUCTION.

Of the travellers, who have visited the Vatican, there are but few who have failed to notice the contrast between the Christian and Pagan inscriptions ranged on either side of the Lapidarian Gallery. Some of them have, doubtless, inferred that there are marked differences which uniformly distinguish the two classes, and that the peculiar characteristics of the Christian are simplicity and humility. For these inferences there are, undoubtedly, some grounds, but they are far from being universally true. Investigation will show that there are epitaphs, regarding which it is extremely difficult to decide to which of the two classes they belong; and that there are Pagan inscriptions, which are as little liable to the charges of ostentation or pride as any Christian *titulus*. In both classes we have examples of the omission of the names of the deceased, or of the simple mention of the names, with or without the age, and with or without the date (see p. xxi.)—many of the characteristics that are stated are identical (see p. xv.)—the epithets that are applied indicate equal tenderness of affection (see p. xv.)—there are similar evidences of domestic happiness (see p. 15)—in both, distinguished rank or position in life is occasionally mentioned (see pp. xv. 30, 31, 33)—in both are found extravagant laudations (see p. xvii.)—in both we have examples of that conciseness, which omits details, such as the cause of death, a particular rarely noticed in Pagan epitaphs, and still more *rarely in Christian—in both, we meet with uncouth prose and verse (see pp. 25, 30), disfigured by solecisms and inelegancies (as

* This is especially remarkable with reference to martyrdom, the notices of which—in original—not commemorative epitaphs, may be regarded as about the proportion of 1 in 2000. This peculiarity did not escape the observation of Muratori, who remarks on the epitaph of a girl of the age of two years and twenty days, 1958, 8:—"*Ibi Vasculum Martyrii Signum. In sacris iis Coemeteriis duo potissimum mireris, Nempe quum tot Vasa vitrea aut figulina occurrant, nullam tamen in ipsis inscriptionibus mortis pro Christo toleratæ mentionem haberi, et præterea Infantes ob Fidem Christi morti datos fuisse.*"

compared with classical usage), that may be attributed to the ignorance of the authors or of the masons, or, rather, to the declining Latinity of the age, especially marked in colloquial forms. And yet, with all these points of resemblance — and others might be added to those that I have noticed—there are strongly marked differences, that must attract the attention of any careful reader. In the Christian epitaphs we find no fretful impatience under visitation, or angry questioning of the propriety of the bereavement, but, on the contrary, submission and resignation—no giving way to despair, but the calmness of hope—*no uncertain speculations or dim anticipations of future existence, but a confident belief in the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come. But let us examine the subject more minutely, and with this view consider it under the heads, *Language, Names and Dates;* †not that this is an exhaustive division, but that it seems well adapted to the wants of those entering on the study of Christian epigraphy.

I. Language.

A student, who is accustomed merely to classical Greek and Latin, as they were written by authors *melioris notæ*, will find many startling novelties in Christian epitaphs, some ‡peculiar to them and some common to them and Heathen inscriptions. The novelties that will first attract his attention are probably those in grammar. Here we find, in orthography, such forms as *filie* for *filiæ*, *que* or *qae* for *quæ*, *hac* for *ac*, *ic* for *hic*, *pride* for *pridie*, *mesis* for *mensis*, *michi* for *mihi*, *exibit* for *exivit*, *opsequia* for *obsequia*, *vicxit*, *visit*, *bissit*, or *visse* for *vixit*, *adque* for *atque*, *quesquenti* for *quiescenti*, *depossio* for *depositio*, &c. The lapse of Latin into Italian is marked by such changes as prefixing i, as *ispirito* for *spiritui*, or affixing *e*, as *posuete* for *posuit*.

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* This is not universally true, for some Christians retained some Pagan superstitions. See p. 63. The latest example of the use of D. M. in a Christian dated epitaph, of which I am aware, is in Steiner's *Cod. Inscrip. Rom. Rhen.* i. p. 289, 609, of the date, according to his restoration, 440 A. D. I have strong doubts of the authenticity of this inscription, and cannot recognize Steiner's authority as sufficient for accepting it.

† A similar remark may be made relative to my division into eight classes in the Selection of epitaphs.

‡ The student should beware of regarding what may be new to him in Christian epitaphs as peculiar to them. Very many of the variations from classical usage are to be found in Pagan inscriptions, and some of them in authors that are not commonly read.

There are also varieties in inflexion, such as *spirita sancta* for *spiritu sancto*, *pauperorum* for *pauperum*, *Agapeni* for *Agapæ*, *Ireneti* for *Irenæ*, *Victoriaes* for *Victoriæ*, *vocitus* for *vocatus*, *requiescent* for *requiescunt*, &c.

Of the ordinary rules of syntax we have such violations, as *in sæculum* for *in sæculo*, *cum maritum* for *cum marito*, *pro sobolem* for *pro sobole*, *hoc tumulum* for *hunc tumulum*; time "how long," commonly expressed by the ablative instead of the accusative, even *annus* for *annos*, &c.

There are also new or unusual terms, or familiar words in new or unusual meanings, such as *pausavit*, *ἀνεπαύσατο*, rested, *bisomus*, *trisomus*, *quadrisomus*, holding two, three, four bodies, *compar* and *conpar*, husband or wife, **costa*, rib = wife, *jugalis*, yoke-fellow, † *virginia*, wife married when a maiden, †*fecit* for *egit*, passed, *titulus*, parochial church, *percepit*, received *scil.* baptism, as also *consecutus est* in the same sense, &c.

Sometimes Latin is written in Greek characters, of which there are examples in Epitaphs 18 and 42. See Plates II. 4, I. 1. Sometimes Greek in Latin, as *zeses*=*ζήσῃς*=*vivas*. Neither of these usages is peculiar to Christian inscriptions.

The phraseology, also, deserves attentive consideration. The terms and expressions for our "Here lies" are *hic jacet* (not often), *ἐνθάδε κεῖται* (often), *hic situs est*, *hic positus*, ‡*depositus*, *dormit*,

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* In Epitaph n. 35. Can there have been here some omission by mistake? and is *costæ* by error for *castæ*? See Orelli, n. 4648.

† Thus also *virginius* = *maritus*. See p. 14. There is a surprising mistake relative to this use in "Die Römischen Inschriften in Dacien von Michael I. Ackner and Friedrich Müller," Wien, 1865. In n. 715, we have the following epitaph:—*D. M. Valerius Locinus Vet. N. Campestror vix. ann. XXXXVIII Aurel. Pirusi Virginio b. m. p. m.* This is expanded as follows:—"*Diis Manibus, Valerius Locinus Veteranus Numero Cambestrorum, vixit annis XXXXVIII Aurelius Pirusius Virginio* (*!*) *bene merenti posuit monunentum.*" It is plain that *Aurel. Pirusi* are the names of the wife of *Valerius Locinus* and that *Virginio* is = *Marito*.

In n. 856 of the same work the sense of *fecit* is mistaken. The words are *fecit in Dacia an. v.*, which are expanded:—*feliciter in Dacia annos V*, as if *fecit* was given by mistake. The meaning is—"she passed five years in Dacia."

‡ In "Fabiola; or the Church of the Catacombs," p. 145, Cardinal Wiseman states his views relative to the terms *depositus* and *depositio*. "This lying in wait for the resurrection," he remarks, "was the second thought that guided the formation of these cemeteries. Every expression connected with them

* *quiescit*, &c. For death we have the tense forms *defunctus esi*,

alluded to the rising again. The word to *bury* is unknown in Christian inscriptions. "*Deposited* in peace," "the *deposition* of ——," are the expressions used; that is, the dead are but left there for a time, till called for again, as a pledge, or precious thing, intrusted to faithful, but temporary, keeping. The very name of cemetery suggests that it is only a place where many lie, as in a dormitory, slumbering for a while; till dawn come, and the trumpet's sound awake them. Hence the grave is only called "the place" (*locus*), or more technically "the small home (*loculus*) of the dead in Christ." As these observations may convey a very erroneous impression, it seems necessary to state that there are numerous Christian epitaphs in which there is no notice, in any form, of the deceased having been committed to the grave, and that, where there is such a notice, neither *depositus* nor *depositio* is invariably used. We have *positus est*, *hic jacet*, *hic situs est*, *tumulatus est*, and, on stones not found in the catacombs, *humatus est*. In one example, De Rossi's n. 1192, we have the usual Pagan term referring to the funeral, *elatus est*. Even the term *depositus* cannot with certainty be claimed as exclusively used by Christians. Henzen, n. 6694, gives a Pagan epitaph, found at Koppach, in Austria, in which D P seems to stand for *deposito*. Mommsen remarks — *Vide ne sit DeFuncto*. The suggestion is a good one, but scarcely satisfactory, for in the preceding part of this same inscription we have O for Θ, the ordinary *nota* for Θανόντι = *defuncto*. In addition to this, I have noticed the word *depositus* in full in another Pagan epitaph, given by Orelli, n. 4555. If the true reading here be, as it is given by Gruter and Orelli, *depositus in vascello*, the use is at variance with the idea relative to *corpus integrum*, as stated by me in my note in Epitaph 7. I have seen nothing, however, to shake the opinion there expressed, that our word "buried" is the equivalent of *depositus*. Morcelli, *de Stilo*, ii. 78, evidently regarded the word in the same sense, and in the Lexicon attached to his work, *scpellito* is given as the Italian equivalent. It is proper, however, that I should add that I do not recollect having seen *scpultus* in any Christian epitaph of the first six centuries; it very rarely occurs in Pagan inscriptions. The learned Cardinal's views relative to "slumbering for a while" are inconsistent with the fact that the same metaphor for death was used by the Pagans. See Raoul Rochette, "Memoire sur les antiquités Chrétiennes des Catacombes," and Morcelli, *de Stilo*, ii. 79. His statements, also, regarding the peculiar sense of *locus* or *loculus*, are contradicted by a similar use of the first of these terms in Pagan epitaphs, and of the latter in classical authors.

* The use of *quiescit* or *requiescit* is not peculiar to Christian epitaphs. They are found in Pagan. See Gruter, 446, 8; Orelli, n. 4493; Muratori, 1154, 7, 1644, 8, 2080, 11. *Hic requievit* is found in Orelli's n. 4494. The Virgilian *placida compostus pace quiescit*, and *placida morte quiescit* resemble the Christian *formulæ*. The use of *in pace* was derived by Christians from the usage of the Jews, from whom they borrowed, as might be expected, some of their sepulchral emblems, such as the seven-branched candlestick, the dove with the branch, and perhaps, even the palm-branch, for this was certainly used by the Jews as well as by the Pagans.

**decessit, recessit, de sæculo recessit, de sæculo exivit, reddidit sc. animam, reddidit debitum, Deo reddidit spiritum sanctum, pausavit, requievit, ivit ad Deum, migravit de hoc sæculo, recessit de hac luce, præcessit,* τελευτᾷ, ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνεπαύσατο, ἐτελειώθη, and the participial forms *defunctus, absolutus de corpore, evocatus a Domino,* †*arcessitus ab angelis, receptus ad Deum, accepta apud Deum, obita,* ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ βίου, &c.

The age is expressed by *vixit,* or *vixit in sæculo, annos* (or *annis* or *annus*) —, *menses* (or *mensibus*) *dies* (or *diebus*) —, with the number of hours sometimes stated. Sometimes *qui fuit* stand for *vixit,* sometimes neither is expressed, and we have the form in the genitive, scil. *annorum,* &c. When the exact number of years was not known, the phrase *plus minus,* πλέον ἔλαττον, more or less, was used. Frequently the time passed in married life is mentioned, and we find such phrases as *vixit mecum, duravit mecum, vixit in conjugio, fecit mecum, fecit in conjugio, fecit cum compare,* with a precise statement of the number of years, &c., and often with some expression marking the happiness of the couple's married life, such as *sine læsione animi, sine querela, sine jurgio,* &c.

The epithets applied to the deceased indicate strong affection, and the eulogies are sometimes extravagant. Thus we have *dulcissimus, carissimus,* γλυκύτατος—πατὴρ τέκνῳ γλυκυτέρῳ φωτὸς καὶ ζωῆς—*innocentissima, piissimus, castissima, pudicissima, incomparabilis, amator* or *amatrix pauperum, miræ industriæ atque bonitatis, miræ innocentiæ ac sapientiæ* (applied to a boy not five years of age), *infantiæ ætas, virginitatis integritas, morum gravitas, fidei et reverentiæ disciplina* (the four phrases applied to one female), *totius pudicitiæ veritas,* and *forma pudoris* applied to others, &c.

The ‡occupation or position in life is stated, with the proper titles, in

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* The use of *cedo, decedo, excedo,* and *recedo,* in the sense "die," is classical, but I do not recollect an example of any of these in Pagan epitaphs except *decedo,* whilst *præcedo* is characteristically Christian, but *abscedo* is, I think, found only and very rarely in Heathen sepulchral inscriptions.

† The Pagan forms were *raptus a Diibus,* and *inter Deos receptus.*

‡ There are some remarkable peculiarities in Christian epitaphs as to such statements. They scarcely ever mention the positions of *liberti* or *servi,* so frequently noticed on Pagan grave-stones. In De Rossi's "Roma Sotterranea," Tav. xx. 3, we have the following, found in the crypt of Lucina: *D. M. Marcie Rufine digne patrone Secundus libertus fecit,* on which see his remarks, p. 343.

many dated Christian epitaphs, but they are all, I think, later than the

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Another rarity in these sepulchral inscriptions is the mention of soldiers. Le Blant has instituted a comparison of the number found in Christian and in Pagan epitaphs, and finds that in 4,700 of the former the ratio is 0.57 per cent., and in 10,000 of the latter 5.42 per cent. There are, also, extremely few examples in which the designation—"Catechumen"—is used. It is very difficult to assign satisfactory reasons for these omissions and for that noticed in note p. xi.

There can, I think, be no reasonable doubt that many of the early Christians were slaves or freedmen. In Epitaph, n. 49, we have an example of a state of things, which must have often occurred—a Christian *libertus* in a Heathen household. As to the notices of Christian slaves in the New Testament, see St. Paul's *Epist. Ephes.* vi. 5; *Col.* iii. 22; *Tit.* ii. 9; and St. Peter's *Epist. I.* ii. 18. This remarkable silence relative to slaves and freedmen is by some supposed to be sufficiently explained by reference to St. Paul's *Epist. Galat.* iii. 28, where the Apostle states—"There is neither bond nor free." But if this reference be accepted, we should not have had any distinction between men and women in Christian epitaphs, for the Apostle adds—"there is neither male nor female."

Again, with reference to the rarity of mention of. soldiers, it cannot be denied that we have sufficient evidence that a considerable number of Christians served in the army. In Epitaph, n. 57, we have an example of one of the *Protectores*, and both *Nasarius* and *Nabor*, mentioned in Epitaph n. 83, are said to have been soldiers. The legend of the *Legio tonans* seems to assume that the fact that Christians served in the army, in considerable numbers, was well known. But we have positive evidence on this point in Tertullian, even though he so strongly objected to the taking of the military oath by Christians. In his Apology, c. 37, he observes: *Omnia vestra implevimus—urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula,* castra ipsa; and in c. 42—*Navigamus et nos vobiscum et* militamus. Although it may be regarded as pushing these statements too far to infer from them that "the army was full of Christians," yet I doubt not that there were many Christian soldiers in the early ages, and am persuaded that some of them served in the *Cohortes Prætoriæ, Urbanæ* or *Vigilum*, whose graves might be expected to be in the Catacombs.

The rarity of notices of Catechumens, even though the number of deaths in such circumstances must have been large, seems to be more easily explicable, for it may have seemed in many cases unnecessary to mention the position of those who were only in preparation for baptism, but had not been admitted into the church. Moreover, relatives may have been reluctant to record a designation which proved that the deceased were not baptized. But the silence regarding martyrdom presents extreme difficulty. The solution that would first suggest itself is, that a notice of this kind would expose the remains to outrage from such Pagan persecutors as might enter the Catacombs. But if we accept this, how shall we explain—as Muratori seems to put the question—the placing of such visible indications outside their graves as *vasa cruoris plena?* I have seen no explanation of the absence of the record of martyrdom, or of either the presence

*time of Constantine. Epitaph n. 49 is not an exception, for it is really a Pagan *titulus*, with the addition of two lines by a Christian *libertus*.

The same designations of the place of burial and of the tomb are found in both Christian and Pagan epitaphs, such as *tumulus*, *sepulcrum*, *locus*, *locus factus*, *locus emptus*, *locus concessus*, *locus donatus*, *memoria*, *sarcophagus*, &c., even to the use of *domus æterna*. See p. 53.

In Pagan epitaphs we often find provision made for the interment of the survivors of the family, frequently for *liberti* and *libertæ*; often, too, some statement relative to the heir, such as H. M. H. N. S., *Hoc monumentum heredem non sequitur*, H. F. C., *Heres faciendum curavit*; often, also, the dimensions of the piece of land stated, as I. F. P. XV. I. A. P. XV. *i. e. in fronte pedes XV: in agro pedes XV.* There are, I believe, no examples of such in Christian dated epitaphs. In De Rossi's n. 84, the words on the back seem to belong to a Heathen epitaph. In undated epitaphs examples must be extremely rare. I have noticed only one. Muratori gives it in 1960, 9. There are there, apparently, two readings of the inscription. I suspect that they are both inaccurate.

In the *acclamationes* there are many points of resemblance, and some marked differences. Under this head—*acclamationes*—I class expressions of good wishes or prayers to or for the deceased, or to or for the living. Of the forms of acclamation, addressed by the living to or for the deceased, we find among the Heathen such as *Sit tibi terra levis*, *Ossa tua bene quiescant*, *Ave*, *Vale*, *Di tibi benefaciant*, †Χαῖρε, Εὐπλόει, Εὐδρόμει, δώῃ σοι Ὄσιρις τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ; among the Christian such as *Refrigera*, *Deus tibi refrigeret*, *vivas inter sanctos*, *vivas in Deo*,

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of the vessels or of their contents that I can consider as satisfactory, even though I am acquainted with the theories relative to the latter proposed by Bosio, Röstell, and Maitland. And I must make a similar statement relative to the rarity of notices of slaves or freedmen and soldiers. Nor can I myself offer any solution that satisfies me.

* There is a strongly marked difference between the tone and language of Christian epitaphs before and after the time of Constantine, *i. e.* before and after the imperial recognition of Christianity. The sepulchral inscriptions of the later period retained but little of the primitive simplicity or expressive terseness that characterized the humble records of a persecuted or tolerated community. See De Rossi, p. cx.

† On these and similar Greek *acclamationes*, some of which are used in Christian epitaphs, see Marini's "Iscriz. Albane," Roma, 1785, p. 98.

Εἰρήνη σοι, Ἐν θεῷ ζήσῃς, γρηγόρει, Ὁ θεὸς ἀναπαύσῃ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν σκηναῖς ἁγίων.

Another of such forms is a prayer to the deities of the unseen world for the welfare of the deceased, *e. gr.* (Orelli, n. 4775), *Peto vos Manes sanctissimæ* (*sic*) *commendatum habeatis meum conjugem et velitis huic indulgentissimi esse horis nocturnis ut eum videam.*

This prayer is common in Christian epitaphs in Greek, *e. gr.* μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς κοιμήσεως τῆς δούλης σου, ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου ἐν τῷ φωτινῷ ἐν τῷ ἀναψύξεως εἰς κόλπον Ἀβραάμ. In Latin, we meet occasionally with such as (Northcote, Catacombs of Rome, p. 148)—*Domine ne quando adumbretur spiritus*, &c.

Another form of such requests or prayers is addressed to the deceased to intercede for the surviving friends, or to do something for their welfare. Among the Pagan we have (Henzen, n. 7382)—*Mævia Sophe impetra si quæ sunt Manes ne tam scelestum discidium experiscar diutius*, and (Zell, *Delect.* n. 560) *Parce matrem tuam et sororem tuam Marinam.* Among the Christian we have **pete*, **roga*, *ora pro nobis*, &c., *εὔχου ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, *ἐρώτα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.

Of the forms of acclamation represented as addressed by the deceased to or for the living, we find among the Heathen such as—*Valete, Viatores salvete, Bene sit filiabus meis;* among the Christian such as Εἰρήνην ἔχετε, ἀδελφοί, Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν πᾶσιν ἐν Θεῷ. I recollect but two examples, in Christian epitaphs of the first six centuries, of the address to the reader for his prayers, so common in mediæval times, but there is no doubt that this form was used by the Jews. See "Cimitero degli antichi Ebrei, &c., illustrato da Raffaele Garrucci," Roma, 1862. Among the Pagans, a similar request was—*Te rogo, præteriens, dicas sit tibi terra levis.* Another form of such acclamations is that of conjuration or imprecation, such as, among the Heathen —*rogo per deos superos inferosque ne velitis ossa mea violare, qui*

* The remark that I have seen in some controversial books, that there is but one example of these forms in the Christian epitaphs of Rome, is certainly not in accordance with facts, if the remark be applied, as it was, to all such inscriptions. It is true that there are comparatively few among the thousands that have no dates, and to this I may add that instances of the mention in such forms of others than the members of the family of the deceased are extremely rare. With reference to dated epitaphs of the first six centuries, I have not observed any example except *pro hunc unum ora subolem*, which occurs in De Rossi's n. 288, of the year 380 A. D.

violaverit deos sentiat iratos, or, among Christians—*conjuro vos per tremendum diem judicii ut hanc sepulturam nulli violent, cum Juda habeat partem si quis sepulcrum hunc violaverit.*

II Names.

The names that are *usually found in Heathen epitaphs in Latin are, of men, three, *viz.*, the *prænomen—nomen,* and *cognomen—e. gr.* C · VIBIO · FIRMO ·, or, of both men and women, two, viz., the *nomen* and *cognomen — e. gr.* SEMPRONIO · DONATO, CALPVRNIA RESTITVTA.

A common arrangement of the †full style, especially in the case of soldiers, is—*prænomen, nomen, nomen patris, tribus, cognomen,* and *patria — e. gr.* M · ANTONIO · M · F · POM · AVRELIANO PALANTIA, *i. e.* to Marcus Antonius Aurelianus, son of Marcus, of the Pomptine tribe, a native of Palantia.

In the Christian epitaphs of the first six centuries, the occurrence of the three names is very uncommon; there is not a single example of ‡this after the third century. See Epitaph n. 41, and notes. During

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* Information on the usual and rarer forms of names may be found in many treatises on the subject. Of these it will be sufficient to mention for the use of students,—Orelli, *Nominum ratio apud Romanos,* i. p. 472, with Henzen's additions, iii. p. 237, where further references will be found to discussions of onomatological questions, by Cannegetier, Zaccaria, Borghesi, Mommsen, Hübner, &c.

† I have not observed an example of this in a Christian epitaph. The father is sometimes mentioned, but not, so far as I recollect, in this form. Nor can I recall a single instance of the mention of the tribe. The birth-place, however, is occasionally noticed in Greek, but very rarely in Latin. See Epitaphs, nn. 45, 82. The absence of mention of the birth-place, in the case of those who were born in the same town in which they were buried, does not seem remarkable; such a notice is usually recorded in the epitaphs of those who were the natives of other places, as may be seen in Pagan military and naval funereal inscriptions. Similarly also the usage of mentioning the birth-place in Great Britain or Ireland is common among us (in Canada).

‡ Of the use of the *prænomen, nomen* and *cognomen. Aurelius Fronto Titianus,* named in De Rossi's n. 37, of A. D. 330, is not an exception, for Aurelius was never a *prænomen. Flavius,* although a *nomen,* was in later times used as a *prænomen.*

On this subject there is an astonishing statement in the critique on De Rossi's work in the *Edinburgh Review,* No. CCXLV. The author remarks: "M. de Rossi has printed twenty-three inscriptions with the names complete, prior to Constantine. Of these no fewer than seventeen have prænomens." There is only one of them that has a prænomen, *viz., Tiberius Claudius Marcianus.* The

this century also even two names fell into disuse, and from the close of it, *antius, entius, ontius,* and *osus,* and their feminines, were common endings of sole names, *e. gr. Amantius, Vincentius, Gaudentia, Leontius, Bonosus, Gaudiosa.* Many of them were of a religious character, such as *Adeodatus, Adeodata, Deusdedit, Quodvultdeus* and similar compounds resembling our Puritan appellations, *Anastasius, Anastasia, Paschasius, Martyrius, Joannes, Petrus, Thomas, Refrigerius, Renatus, Redempta, Bonifacius,* &c. Some are believed to have been chosen as indicating humility, as *Fimus, Stercorius, Stercoria, Projectus, Contumeliosus,* &c. See Epitaph n. 1, and notes.

There are many names common to both Christians and Pagans; among them the designations of animals, such as *Ursus, Ursa, Leopardus, Aper, Tigris, Agnella, Muscula,* &c., the names of months, such as *Januarius, Aprilis, December,* &c.; and even the appellations of Heathen deities, or derivatives from them, such as *Mercurius, Apollinaris,* &c. See Epitaphs nn. 1 and 26, and notes.

The number of names taken from the Holy Scriptures is small. Some

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previous statement of the Reviewer — "Of the ante Constantinian inscriptions, there are but two in which the three names occur, *Marcus Aurelius Prosenes*" (see Epitaph, n. 49) "and *Tiberius Claudius Marcianus*" (see Epitaph n. 41), is correct. De Rossi does not include the first of these in the twenty-three, because the name occurs in an epitaph inscribed by Pagans. A remark of the Reviewer, however, relative to the rapid disappearance of the three names is, in my judgment, well worthy of consideration. He doubts whether this characteristic is sufficiently explained by "the small proportion of patrician families among the early Christians." In this doubt I concur. I cannot but think that a considerable number of persons entitled to this and other marks of rank were laid to rest in the catacombs, with no other distinction than a single name. This name, I am inclined to think, was the appellation given before or at baptism, by which members of the church were known among their community, and which accordingly marked their graves amidst their fellow Christians.

This use of single names, although certainly not universal, largely prevailed. Up to the time of Constantine, such names seem to have been generally not distinguishable from the Pagan appellations, but in and after his time, when there was no danger in the public profession of Christianity, names of a religious character, such as were but rarely given in the third century, became common. As I have adverted to these names, I avail myself of the opportunity to express my doubts as to the name of the parent of Severa, in Epitaph, n. 42. Following Orelli, and, as I now see, Muratori in his Index, I have taken it as *Leuce* for the mother. It may be that the name was *Leuces* for the father. I do not recollect having ever met with an example of either of these names.

have been already noticed, and it has been suggested to me that *Mala*, in n. 14, may be *Mahlah*, of Numbers xxvi. 33. Reinesius, offended with the name, proposes to read *Maia* or *Maea*.

We sometimes find persons having two names, one of which may have been the Heathen, the other the Christian name. See Epitaphs nn. 11, 16. In the latter I have followed, with some hesitation, Montfaucon, Kirchoff, and De Rossi, in regarding καλώνυμος as an adjective, but have inadvertently retained the expansion ἡ καὶ Καλώνυμος instead of ἡ καὶ καλώνυμος, "the also rightly-named." My hesitation arises from doubts whether the use of καὶ is consistent with the view that the word is an adjective.

There are some examples of pet names, such as *Pitzinnina, i. e.* "piccinina" and "pizzinina," *pisinnus* and *pisinna* being also used for *pusillus* and *pusilla*. See notes Epitaph n. 11. We also find, but very rarely, Gothic names, such as *Ereda* (Freda?), *Brinca* or *Bringa*, *Uviliaric, Trasaric, Sedaignuchus*.

In Greek epitaphs some are ordinary Greek names, such as Στρατονείκη, Δημητρία, Ἀνατόλιος, &c.; others are indicative of the character —such as Ἀγάθη, Εὐσέβιος; or have a religious reference, such as Θεόδωρος, Κυριάκη; or are drawn from Scripture, as Ἰωάννης, Μαρία, Στέφανος, &c.; or are Latin names Græcised, or written in Greek characters, as Φορτουνάτους, Βικτωρία, &c. Greek names are often written in Latin characters, such as *Nice, Elpis, Eirene, Euphrosynus*, &c.

In some epitaphs the names of the deceased are not stated, in some cases, perhaps, for the reason suggested by Fabretti, p. 545, "*quia solum in libro vitæ describi avebant*," but this omission of names is not peculiar to Christian epitaphs; it has been noticed in Heathen also. See Fabretti, p. 21. Some, perhaps, may cite as an example of the omission of the name in a dated epitaph, De Rossi's n. 148: *Flaviis Tauro et Florentio Conss. VIII. Kal. Septe. dep. in pace Q. vix. M. XI. D. XXIIII. i. e.* "In the Consulship of Flavius Taurus and Flavius Florentius (*i. e.* 361 A.D.), on the eighth day before the Calends of September, buried in peace, who lived eleven months, twenty-four days." See also his n. 220. In both cases, however, it may be that the name has been obliterated, or lost.

III. Dates.

Even the shortest epitaph, in our time, usually contains the dates of the birth and death of the deceased, but the usage was different in

ancient sepulchral inscriptions, whether Heathen or Christian. A marked distinction of both, as contrasted with modern custom, is their usual omission of the *dates of birth and death, especially of the former, mention of which is very rare; and a peculiarity of Christian as compared with Heathen epitaphs is that the former often give the year, with the date not of death †but of interment. See Epitaphs nn. 2, 6, 7, 11, 12, &c.

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* Sometimes, but seldom, we find very minute particulars mentioned, such as the day and hour of birth and death (and in Pagan the circumstances of the funeral) and yet unaccompanied by any notice of the year The term for funeral is *elatus est*, of which I do not remember having seen any example in a Christian epitaph, except in De Rossi's n. 1192.

† On this subject, Cardinal Wiseman makes the following remarkable observations, in his tale "Fabiola; or the Church of the Catacombs," p. 146:—"In England, if want of space prevented the full date of a person's death being given, we should prefer chronicling the year, to the day of the month, when it occurred. It is more historical. No one cares about remembering the day on which a person died, without the year; but the year, without the day, is an important recollection. Yet while so few Christian inscriptions supply the year of people's deaths, thousands give us the very day of it, on which they died, whether in the hopefulness of believers, or in the assurance of martyrs. This is easily explained. Of both classes annual commemoration had to be made, on the very day of their departure; and accurate knowledge of this was necessary. Therefore it alone was recorded."

With regard to the number of Christian inscriptions in which the year of death is recorded, he had previously stated: "Although inscriptions with dates are rare, yet out of ten thousand collected, and about to be published, by the learned and sagacious Cavalier de Rossi, about three hundred are found bearing consular dates, through every period, from the early emperors to the middle of the fourth century (A.D. 350)."

Even if we accept the Cardinal's explanation of the necessity for an accurate knowledge of the day of departure with a view to annual commemoration, I can not understand what difference it would have made, if both the day and the year of departure had been recorded. But, independently of this, I cannot receive his statements as correct. The assertion, that "out of ten thousand, &c., about three hundred are found bearing consular dates, through every period, from the early emperors to the middle of the fourth century (A. D. 350)," is wholly at variance with facts. There are ten thousand without dates, and exclusively of these there are between thirteen and fourteen hundred that bear consular dates. Nor are these "through every period:" there are none known between A.D. 111 and A. D. 204. Neither are they "from the early emperors:" of the first twelve Cæsars there is only one, and that of the time of Vespasian. Moreover, they do not close at the middle of the fourth century: the great majority are

Consular Years.—The year is usually indicated by the names of the Consuls; and here there are some distinctions that are worthy of notice. The ordinary division of Consuls, as is well known, was into *Consules Ordinarii*, who began their consulship on the 1st of January, and *Consules Suffecti*, who took the places of those *Consules Ordinarii* who retired before the completion of their year. De Rossi, who has thoroughly examined the subject, states that the latter (*Consules Suffecti*) are not named in Christian epitaphs.

In order that we may more clearly understand the changes that were made in consular indications of the year, it will be advantageous to take an example of a complete formula. The full expression for the year 929 of the City, or 176 A.D., would be—*sub Tito Vitrasio Pollione iterum et Marco Flavio Apro iterum, Consulibus.* Now this might be contracted by the omission of *sub*, the substitution of numerals (II) for *iterum*, and the use of COS for *Consulibus.* This again might be abbreviated by the omission of the *prænomina;* and this still further shortened by giving merely the *cognomina*, so that the form in inscriptions might be POLLIONE · II · ET · APRO · II · COS. But even this might be cut down to POL · II · ET · APR · II · COS, or POL · ET · APR · II · COS; or even, finally, ET and COS might be omitted, or only one might be named.

Such abbreviations are found in both Heathen and Christian in-

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after that period: and instead of "about three hundred" up to A.D. 350, their number does not reach one hundred and fifty.

It should be borne in mind, however, that the learned Cardinal, when he made these statements, had not the advantage of referring to De Rossi's work, for it was not published until some years after the appearance of "Fabiola." The latter was written in 1854, and the former was in the press from 1857 to 1862. The true explanation of his mistakes seems to be that he derived his information from a person who was unacquainted with some of the facts that were then known, whilst others have been ascertained since that time. A similar explanation, however, cannot be given of his error relative to the record of the day of death. I have reason to believe that the notice of the day of burial is more frequent than that of the day of death; and not merely is the day of death not mentioned in the majority of cases, but the absence of all dates, whether of day, month or year, is characteristic of the more ancient Christian epitaphs. It should also be recollected that the Christians derived their custom of stating the day of death or burial, and marking the year, from the Pagans, although from about the close of the third century this usage became so frequent among the former, that it may be regarded as characteristic. See Borghesi, *Bullet. dell' Is. di Corresp. Arch.* p. 150, Rome, 1845.

scriptions of the first three centuries. Thus we have, in the latter, L · FAB · CIL · M · ANN · LIB · COS for *Lucio Fabio Cilone, Marco Annio Libone Consulibus* (*i. e.* 204 A.D.); DIC · IIII · ET · MAX · COS for *Diocletiano quartum et Maximiano* (tertium) *Consulibus* (*i. e.* 290 A.D.); PRAESENTE · ET · EXTRICATO · II (*i. e.* 270 A.D.), where II belongs to each and COS is omitted, &c.

The following characteristics of this period should be observed :— The omission of the name of one of the consuls is very rare; the names are almost always *contracted; the order of the names is not changed (which is true of Pagan inscriptions of the third century); the *et*, between the names of the Consuls, is almost without exception expressed. In the example of the Consuls of 204 A. D., which I have above given (the only example in Christian epitaphs of the use of the three names of the Consuls), its omission accords with the law, noticed by †Marini, that when the three names are given, the usage was to omit the *copula*. The omission of the numerals, to mark second or third consulships, is not uncommon (see Epitaph n. 90); but they are never omitted in cases where such omission would render the date doubtful. Where the name of only one Consul is given, and the number of his consulship is not expressed, we should understand his first. The word *consulibus* and its abbreviations are sometimes omitted, as in the example above given; of this there is no example after the fourth century.

The abbreviation COS for *consulibus* was in use up to the middle of the third century, when COSS, CONS, and CONSS, began to be adopted; COS is very seldom found during the fourth century, and almost never in the fifth or sixth; COSS fell into disuse about the first quarter of the fifth century, and after that CONS was used, in the time of Diocletian with S for one Consul and SS for two. At the same time, CC· SS· and CS· were introduced; but they were very rarely used in the fifth, and there is scarcely an example of them in the sixth.

Another abbreviation was the mention merely of the number of the Consulships, without stating the names, *e. gr.*, the form TER · ET · SEMEL · COSS is used to indicate the year 202 A.D., in which Severus was Consul for the third time, and Caracalla for the first. Thus also the words AVG VIII ET CAESARIS mark the year 356 A. D., in

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* This contraction was continued occasionally in the fourth century, *e. gr.* NEP · ET · FAC · CONS, viz., *Nepotiano et Facundo Consulibus, i. e.* 336 A.D.

† See De Rossi, p. XX., and Marini's "Atti de frat. Arvali," Roma, 1795, p. 143.

which Constantius was Consul for the eighth time, with Julian as his colleague. This abbreviation, however, is very rarely employed in Christian inscriptions. See Epitaph n. 20, and Mommsen, *Inscrip. Neapol.* n. 7232.

From about the middle of the fourth century, CONS began to be placed before instead of after the names, and this usage, frequently adopted towards the close of that century, became the prevalent custom in the fifth and sixth. Sometimes, where *consulatu* is expressed, we find a barbarous mixture of the two forms, *e. gr.*, *consulatu Modesto et Arynthco.* See Epitaphs nn. 58, 79. In Greek, from about the middle of the fourth century, the ancient term ὑπάτοις ceases, and ὑπατείᾳ becomes the recognised form. In the fourth century, also, the terms *Viri Clarissimi*—* VC or VVCC—began to be applied to private Consuls, *i. e.* Consuls who were not *Augusti* or *Cæsares.* This usage became so prevalent that we have examples of their use without mention of *consule* or *consulibus* or their contractions.

The addition of the terms *Senior* or *Junior*, for the purpose of distinguishing persons of the same family, was used in the time of the Antonines, and we have examples of the latter applied to Valentinian in the close of the fourth century, but it was not until the fifth and 6th that it became common. The usage of defining the year by but one Consul rendered this addition necessary to distinguish persons of the same name.

The number of the consulship is stated in Christian inscriptions of the fourth and fifth centuries, where it is necessary to define the year, but is often omitted where it is not so required. At the close of the fourth century, and afterwards, *bis* and *secundo* are used for *iterum*, and at that time either words or numerals were used indiscriminately. In the fourth century, the use of † *primum* marking the first consulship is found, and there are similar examples in the fifth, but it never became common.

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* We have examples of VVCC applied to one consul (see Epitaph n. 54), and of VC applied to two (see Epitaph, n. 74.) Cardinal Wiseman expands VC· CONSS in the latter ("Fabiola", p. 191), *Viro Consulari*, "a consular man," but this is not correct.

† De Rossi remarks: "*Illud a vetere stilo toto cœlo distans, ut quisquam* primum *consul diceretur.*" The coins of the Emperor Severus of his first consulship have the numeral I after COS, to which, perhaps, there may be reference in the expression *ter et semel Coss.*

In addition to the modes already mentioned of defining the year by the Consuls or Consulships of that year, there was another, which came into use in the beginning of the 4th century, of which De Rossi finds the first Roman example in 307 A.D. This form was *Post consulatum* with the names of the Consuls of the preceding year. This was used when it was not known who were the Consuls of the year, or when the name of but one was known, or when it was necessary or expedient not to mention them. This form was expressed by the abridgments—POST CONS, POST CONSS, or even POST or POS. In the middle of the fifth century $\overline{\text{PC}}$ came into use, and soon became the regular contraction. This form—*post consulatum*—was sometimes used, not merely of the year after the specified Consuls, but of several others in succession, *e. gr. iterum post consulatum*, of the second year; *et iterum* (or *iterum atque iterum*) *post consulatum*, of the third year. See Epitaph n. 72. The years *post consulatum Basilii* extend to XXIV, or, rather, this form seems to have been used even up to XXIX.

There was also another form, when there was one Consul for the Western Empire and the other for the Eastern, according to which the name of one Consul was given, with the addition *et qui de Oriente* (or *Occidente*) *fuerit nuntiatus* (in Greek, καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου), or *Orientalis* is expressed, *e. gr. Fl. Johanne Orientale*, *i. e.* 538 A. D.

The term *Imperatore*—IMP—in Heathen inscriptions, commonly prefixed to the name of an *Augustus*, does not appear in Christian epitaphs before the close of the sixth century, except in one example of the year 279, where it occurs twice. De Rossi is of opinion, that in monuments of a later age than that in which the use of IMP was revived, we should read *imperante* or *imperio* rather than *imperatore*. In these later times the year of the reign of the Emperor is stated, and PP for *perpetuo* precede AVG for *Augustus*, *e. gr. Imp D N Justino PP Aug An* ♀ *Ind V* = *i. e. Imperante Domino Nostro Justino perpetuo* (not *Patre Patriæ*) *Augusto*, *anno sexto*, *Indictione quinta*= 571 A.D. At the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth, instead of AVGG we find AAGG and AAVVGG.

The letters DD · NN ·—*Dominis Nostris*—began to be used in the beginning of the third century, and continued in use to the close of the fifth. $\overline{\text{DOM}}$ · $\overline{\text{N}}$ and DOMNO were not used until a later age. There are examples of the application of these letters DDNN to private Consuls, but this seems to have arisen from inadvertence or ignorance. See De Rossi, p. xxiv. and Epitaphs nn. 76, 97.

The term *Nobilissimi*, applied to the Cæsars from the time of Commodus and Severus, does not appear in Christian inscriptions before the fourth century, and then is not limited to those who were Cæsars. In consequence of this extended application of the term the Cæsars were styled *Florentissimi* and *Beatissimi*.

2. *Æras, &c.* Another mode of marking the date was by giving the year of the æra, *e. gr.*, of Spain, of Antioch, of Mauretania, &c. Of the few examples of this mode in epitaphs, there is not one in any of those found at Rome. See Epitaphs, nn. 24, 25, 61, 81. There are two examples in epitaphs, in which the date is indicated by mentioning the existing Bishop of Rome, *scil. sub Liberio Episcopo*, and *sub Damaso Episcopo*, in both cases marking preference for them in opposition to their rivals. See De Rossi, n. 139, and Epitaph n. 36. The first of the Indictions, or recurring periods of fifteen years, began in A.D. 312, on September 1st, and this mode of marking time was first employed in Egypt. In a later age, from about the middle of the sixth century, examples are found indicating that January 1st was taken as the day from which the Indictions were counted. The most ancient examples of Indictions in Roman inscriptions are of the dates A.D. 517 and 522, See De Rossi's nn. 965, 984, and p. 21. For examples of Indictions, see Epitaphs nn. 38, 67, 73. In a few, not older than about the middle of the sixth century, the year of the Indiction is given, but of these it is unnecessary to speak, as no inference as to the year A.D. can be drawn from them, unless when accompanied by other marks of a definite character. See Epitaph under n. 68. In some epitaphs the date is given so fully that the day of the month, the day of the week, and the day of the moon, and sometimes even the *hour, are stated. See Epitaphs nn. 86, 87, 88. In Latin, the day of the month is, with very few exceptions, stated in the ordinary way with reference to the divisions of Calends, Nones, and Ides. For exceptions, see Epitaphs nn. 12, 49. In Greek there is, sometimes, the peculiarity of using names of the months different from the Latin designations, *e. gr.*, the † Macedonian terms, viz.

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* Both in Christian and Pagan epitaphs we have examples of half hours, such as VIS, *i. e.* six and a half—even *scrupuli* ($_2^1{}_\Sigma$) *e. gr. Bene merenti in pace Silvana quæ hic dormit. Vixit ann. XXI. mens. III hor. IV. scrupulos VI.* In the statement of the period of married life there is sometimes similar minuteness, *e gr., Silvana Niciati marito bene merenti cum quo vixit annis tribus mensibus duobus oris undecim.* See Fabretti, pp. 96, 186.

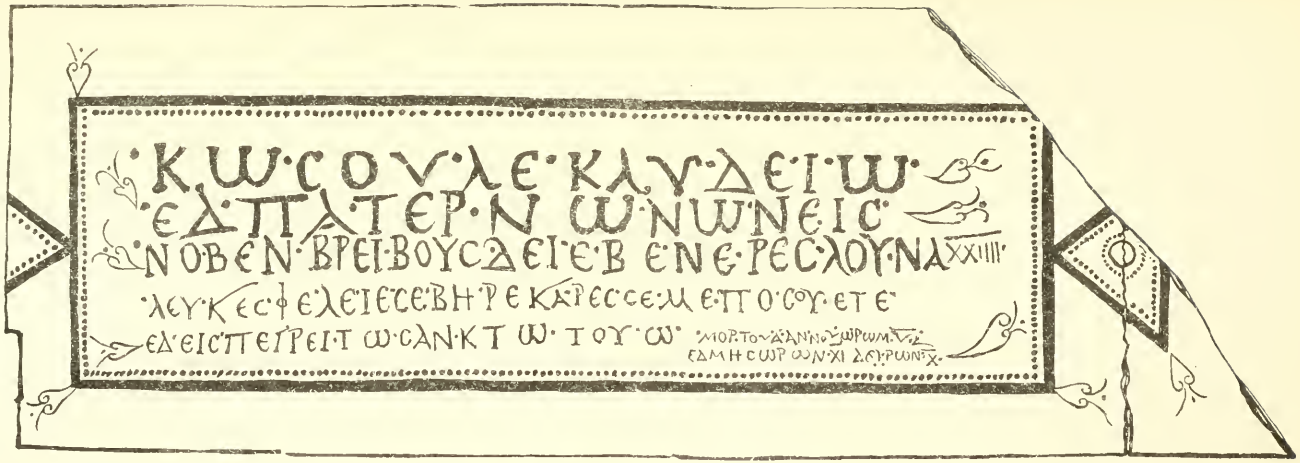
† On the Macedonian months, see Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, iii. 347.

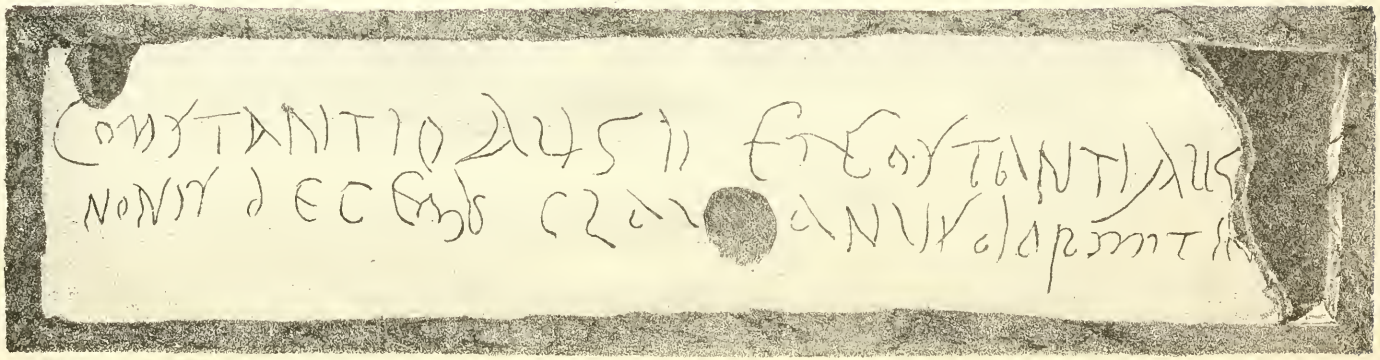
Feritius, Panemus, &c. The days of the month are expressed, not by decades, but according to the Latin forms. It should be noticed, however, that ἀπὸ καλανδῶν does not signify before, but after the Calends. See Corsini, *Not. Græc*, p. 57.

The days of the week are given in the ordinary designations, *scil. Dies Solis* (*Dies Dominica*) Sunday, *Dies Lunæ*, Monday, *Dies Martis*, Tuesday, *Dies Mercurii*, Wednesday, *Dies Jovis*, Thursday, *Dies Veneris* (*Parasceue*), Friday, *Dies Saturni* (*Dies Sabbati*) Saturday.

The investigations regarding the Cyclic marks of time, *i. e.* the day of the month, day of the week, and day of the moon, as compared with each other and with the year, are very intricate. This difficult subject, which had engaged the attention of Sismondi, Bimard, and Antonio and Mario Lupi, was most successfully treated by Marini. Cardinali and Visconti have contributed additional information, but by far the most satisfactory discussion of the subject is by De Rossi, in his *Prolegomena* and Notes, to which I must refer my readers, as it would be impossible to compress within my limits any satisfactory treatment of its details.

In addition to the Language, Names and Dates, the Symbols also deserve attention. I have given incidental notices of them in pp. xiv. 22, 45, 67, but I have not treated them under a separate head, partly because their discussion would occupy too much space, and would require additional illustrations, and partly because they seemed to belong rather to the artistic than to the scholastic treatment of the epitaphs. The character of Christian art, as displayed in the Catacombs, has attracted much interest, especially since the publication of Lord Lindsay's Sketches, Padre Marchi's "Monumenti delle Arti Cristiane," and M. Perret's "Les Catacombes de Rome." The subject does not lie within my present province, and I have, consequently, refrained from offering any remarks on it. For the same reason, I have omitted reference to the Geological and Architectural features of the Catacombs: M. Michele Stefano De Rossi has contributed an able dissertation on them to his brother's "Roma Sotterranea Cristiana."





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CHRISTIAN EPITAPHS

OF THE

FIRST SIX CENTURIES.

I. Those in which only the Name and Date are Stated.

1.

VIBIV · FIMVS · R · VII KA · SEP
DIC · IIII · ET · MAX · COS

(*E *coemeterio Callisti;* De Rossi, n. 16.)

Vibiu (Vibius) *Fimus recessit, VII Kalendas Septembres, Diclctiano* (Diocletiano) *IV et Maximiano Consulibus.*

"Vibius Fimus retired (from this world), on the seventh day before the Calends of September, in the Consulship of Diocletian for the fourth time, and Maximian [for the third time]," *i.e.* August 26th, 290, A.D.

De Rossi compares *Fimus* (dung) with the name *Stercorius*, commonly used by Christians. Thus, also, we find *Stercoria* applied to females. It is believed that such appellations were chosen by Christians in humility and self-abasement. I am inclined to think that,

* *Coemeterium* is used to denote a "Catacomb," and the inscriptions, that have been found in the Catacombs, are distinguished by the term *coemeteriales*, although the words do not necessarily imply "subterranean."

at least, some of them were not selected by those, who bore them, or by their relatives, but were applied by the heathen in contempt, and then adopted. We often meet with names common to both Christians and Pagans, and sometimes find the former strangely called after heathen deities, *e.g. Mercurius.*

I have followed De Rossi in reading R as *recessit;* others prefer *requiescit,* or *rediddit, sc.* animam. We should have had III after MAX, for Maximian was consul for the third time in the same year (290) in which Diocletian was consul for the fourth time.

2.

IGNATIVS · SEM
NVS
XV · KAL · FEB
HANNIBALIANO
ETASCLEPIODO
TO COSS ·

(*In vinea supra coemeterium Petri et Marcellini;* De Rossi, n. 19.)

Ignatius Semnus, XV Kalendas Februarias, Hannibaliano et Asclepiodoto Consulibus.

"Ignatius Semnus, on the fifteenth day before the Calends of February, in the Consulship of Hannibalianus and Asclepiodotus," *i.e.* January 18th, 292, A.D.

There is an ellipsis of a word between *Ignatius Semnus* and *XV. Kal. Feb.* Either *decessit* or *depositus*—"died," or "was buried,"—may be supplied; of the two, the latter is the more probable in Christian epitaphs. A similar ellipsis is found in heathen sepulchral inscriptions. Thus, in the collection given by Lanzi, *Saggio,* i., p. 162, we have COELIA A · D · X · KAL · DIIC, *i.e. Coelia ante diem X Kalendas Decembres, scil.* "Coelia, on November 22nd," whereby we should understand, that her bones were collected on that day. See Mommsen, *Inscrip. Latin. Antiq.,* p. 210. In his n. 887, we have P for *Positus,* and in n. 957, *ossiva, i.e. ossa.*

3.

(See Plate I, 2.)

(*E coemet. Theodorae;* De Rossi, n. 55.)

Constantio Aug. II et Constanti (Constante) *Aug.* (*Conss.*) *Nonis Decemb. Clau*(*di*)*anus dormit in* (*pace.*)

"In the Consulship of Constantius Augustus, for the second time, and Constans Augustus, on the Nones of December (*i.e.* December 5th, 339, A.D.), Claudianus sleeps in peace."

4.

(See Plate II, 2.)

(*In Mus. Vat.;* De Rossi, n. 69.)

ΚΑΤΑΘΕCIC ·
ΟΚΤΑΒΙΛΛΗC
ΠΡΟΘΚΑΛCΕΤ
ΡΩΜΟΥΛΙ

Κατάθεσις Ὀκταβίλλης πρὸ θ καλ(ανδῶν) Σετ(εμβρίων) Ῥωμούλι.

"The burial of Octavilla (took place) on the ninth day before the Calends of September [in the Consulship] of Romulus," *i.e.* August 24th, 343, A.D.

Ῥωμούλι, with the Latin ending of the genitive, stands for Ῥωμούλου, *i.e.* ὑπατείᾳ Ῥωμούλου.

5.

GAVDENTIVS · DIE · III · KAL
AVG · SERGIO · ET · NIGRINIANO ·
COSS

(*E coemeterio Hippolyti;* De Rossi, n. 109.)

Gaudentius, die III Kalendas Augustas, Sergio et Nigriniano Consulibus.

"Gaudentius, on the third day before the Calends of August, in the Consulship of Sergius and Nigrinianus," *i.e.* July 30th, 350, A.D.

6.

DEPOSTIO SEDATI XII KAL
DECEMBRES · GRAT ANOV
ET TODOSIO CONSS

(*In coem. Theodoræ;* De Rossi, n. 291.)

Depostio (depositio) *Sedati, XII Kalendas Decembres, Gratiano V et Todosio* (Theodosio) *Consulibus.*

"The burial of Sedatus (took place) on the twelfth day before the Calends of December, in the Consulship of Gratianus, for the fifth time, and Theodosius," *i.e.* November 20th, 379, A.D.

I have regarded *depositio* as "burial." There are examples of

its use, in which it might be considered as standing for the place, or for the body itself.

7.

DEPOSITVS LEONEDES IN PACE
D IIII NONAS APRIL POST CONS
IOANNIS ET VARANA

(*In S. Agnetis extra Muros;* De Rossi, n. 799.)

Depositus Leonedes (Leonides) *in pace, die IV Nonas Apriles, post consulatum Joannis et Varana* (Varanæ or Varanis).

"Leonidas was buried in peace on the fourth day before the Nones of April, (in the year) after the Consulship of John and Varanes," *i.e.* April 2nd, 457, A.D.

I have uniformly translated *depositus* by our ordinary word, "buried." There are some, who think that it is used with a special reference to the resurrection. Thus Northcote, "The Roman Catacombs," p. 143, remarks: "Each body, as it was laid in its grave, was said to be *depositum* there; deposited, that is, only for a while, to be reclaimed again in that day when the sea and the earth shall give up their dead." This is a pleasing, but, in my judgment, incorrect interpretation. The word *depositus*, meaning "laid down," is used by Classical authors in the sense "despaired of," and "dead." See Virgil, *Æn.*, xii., 395; Ovid, *Trist.*, iii., 3, 40; *Ex Pont.*, ii., 47.

In Christian inscriptions, I regard it as signifying no more than "laid down," *i.e.* that the body (*corpus integrum*)—not merely portions of it, as was common among the heathen—was "buried."

II. Those in which only the Name, Age, and Date are Stated.

8.

SERVILIA · ANNORVM · XIII ·
PIS · ET · BOL · COSS ·

(*E coemeterio Lucinæ;* De Rossi, n. 3.)

Servilia, annorum XIII, Pisone et Bolano Consulibus.

"Servilia, of thirteen years (of age), in the Consulship of Piso and Bolanus," *i.e.* 111, A.D.

This inscription has no distinctive mark of a Christian epitaph; and yet the circumstances, under which it was found in the Catacombs, seem to warrant its being placed among them. See De Rossi, n. 3.

9.

ΕΡΜΕΙΑCΟΚΑΙ
ΛΙΤΟΡΙCΜ̄ΗΜ̄ΓΕ
ΗῙΛΜΙΑS QVIET
LITORIVS M V̄ΙΙῙ
DIERX̄V̄ EXCESSIT
ALBINO I̅I̅ ETMAXI
MO COS XIIII KAPBH

(*Smyrnæ;* Boeckh, *Corp. Inscrip. Græc.*, n. 3309.)

Ἑρμείας ὁ καὶ Λίτορις μ(ηνῶν)η̄ [ἡ]μ(ερῶν)[ι]ϵ. *Hermias, qui et Litorius, mensium VIII, dierum XV, excessit, Albino II et Maximo Consulibus, XIV Kalendas Apriles.*

"Hermias, who was also called Litorius, of eight months, fifteen days (of age), departed in the Consulship of Albinus for the second time, and Maximus, on the fourteenth day before the Calends of April," *i.e.* March 19th, 263, A.D.

If this be a Christian epitaph, as it probably is, it is more ancient than any of those, not found in Rome, that bear dates. We must read in line 3, HERMIAS; and in line 7, K·APRIL. See De Rossi, p. 15.

10.

(See Plate II, 3.)

(*E coemet. via Ardeatina;* De Rossi, n. 13.)

(Αὐ)ρηλία Παῦλα . . . . α ἐγεννήθη Α(ὐρηλιανῷ) (τὸ β̄) καὶ· Καπιτωλείνῳ (ὑπάτοις) τελευτᾷ πρὸ η̄ καλανδῶν . . . . ω ἔζησεν ἔτη δύο (ἡμέρας) δέκα πέντε.

"Aurelia Paula . . . . was born, in the Consulship of Aurelian for the second time and Capitolinus (*i.e.* 274, A.D.) She dies on the eighth day before the Calends of . . . . She lived two years fifteen days."

The date of her death was 277, A.D.

11.

HIC·IACET·MVSCVLA·QUAE ET·GALATEA
QVAE VIX·ANN·DVOB·MENS·DVOB·ET DXVII
DEP·XV·KAL·AVG·GRATIANO AVG·II ET
PROBO CONSS·IN PACE

(*E coemeterio Lucinæ;* De Rossi, n. 224.)

Hic jacet Muscula, quæ et Galatea, quæ vixit annis duobus, mensibus duobus, et diebus XVII. Deposita XV Kalendas Augustas, Gratiano Augusto II et Probo Consulibus, in pace.

"Here lies Muscula, who was also called Galatea, who lived two years, two months, and seventeen days. Buried on the fifteenth day before the Calends of August, in the Consulship of Gratianus Augustus for the second time, and Probus (*i.e.* July 18th, 371, A.D.), in peace."

It has been suggested that *Galatea* may have been the Heathen, and *Muscula* the Christian, name of the deceased. Thus we find in *Reinesius,* n. 452: *Accia vel Maria est nomen mihi Tulliana, i.e.* her heathen name was *Accia,* but her Christian, *Maria.* This notice, however, of two names is not rare in heathen epigraphy. Perhaps *Muscula* was her pet name. In the text, I have adopted, in the third line, De Rossi's reading of ET for IT. The use of the ablative for time "how long," is common in inscriptions. Sometimes we have the two constructions in the same sentence, as in n. 34.

12.

TIBVRTIVS QVI VIXIT ANN · XXVI · ET MENS ·
VIIII · DXI · DEP · VII · NON · DEC · DN · GRATI
ANO IIII · ET MEROBAVDE COSS · IN PACE

(*Ad S. Agnetis;* De Rossi, n. 268.)

Tiburtius, qui vixit annos XXVI et menses IX, dies XI. Depositus, VII Nonas Decembres, Domino Nostro Gratiano IV et Merobaude Consulibus, in pace.

"Tiburtius, who lived twenty-six years, and nine months, (and) eleven days. Buried on the seventh day before the Nones of December, in the Consulship of our Lord Gratianus for the fourth time, and Merobaudes (*i.e.* November 29th, 377, A.D.), in peace."

l. 2. VII · NON · DEC. I have regarded this as = III · KAL · DEC. Thus we have in De Rossi, n. 442, VIII · X · (XVIII) KL · MART, *i.e.* PRID · ID · FEB ·; and in n. 587, XVIII KAL ENDAS NOBEMBRES, *i.e.* ID · OCTOB.

13.

IC POSITVS ETS LEO QVI
VIXIT ANNOS · XXVI DI
POSITUS · VIII · IDVS · O
CTOBRIS · NATVS EST
TAVRO · ET · FLORENTIO
CCSS

(*In Bibliotheca S. Gregorii*—Marini; De Rossi, n. 362.)

(H) *ic positus ets* (est) *Leo, qui vixit annos XXVI. Dipositus* (depositus) *VIII Idus Octobres, natus est Tauro et Florentio Consulibus.*

"Here has been laid Leo, who lived twenty-six years. Buried on the eighth day before the Ides of October. He was born in the Consulship of Taurus and Florentius," *i.e.* 361, A.D.

As Leo was twenty-six years of age at his death, it it evident that this epitaph is of the date, October 8th, 386, A.D.

14.

HIC REQVIESCET IN SOMNO PACIS
MALA QVI VIXIT ANNOS XXXVIII · M · V · DV ·
ACCEPTA APVT DE IV · IDVS IVNIAS AETIO CONL.

(*E fundamentis vet. bas. Vaticanæ;* De Rossi, n. 678.)

Hic requiescet (requiescit), *in somno pacis, Mala qui* (quæ) *vixit annos XXXVIII, menses V, dies V. Accepta aput* (apud) *De(um) IV Idus Junias Aetio Consule.*

"Here rests, in the sleep of peace, Mala, who lived thirty-eight years, five months, five days. Received before God, on the fourth day before the Ides of June, in the Consulship of Aetius," *i.e.* June 10th, 432, A.D.

l. 1. *Requiescet.* As if it were of the second conjugation: similarly *quiescet* and *requiescent*, for *quiescit* and *requiescunt*. In Gruter, 998, 10, we have *Hic requiescent*, in a heathen inscription, said of the living, *i.e.* we have the ordinary future.

15.

ENΘAΛEKITEEN
EIPHNHMAPIA
EZHΛENETH . .
KPOΠPOCB . .
ETEΛIΩΘH Iov
ΛIOYK$\overline{S}$YII
AΦAΣΦASC . . .

(*Rhegii;* Kirchhoff, n. 9541.)

Ἐνθάδε κῖτε (κεῖται) ἐν εἰρήνῃ Μαρία. Ἔζησεν ἔτη [μι]κρὸ(ν) πρὸς $\overline{\beta}$. Ἐτελιώθη (ἐτελειώθη) Ἰουλίου $\overline{κ\varsigma}$ ὑπ[ατί]ᾳ Φ.[Ἀ]σ[π]α[ρος].

"Here lies in peace Mary. She lived a little more than two years. She finished her course on the twenty-sixth of July, in the Consulship of Flavius Aspar," *i.e.* 434, A.D.

I have given Kirchhoff's reading and expansion. Corsini read the last line thus: Φ. Aς. Φ. ASC, *i.e.* after emendation, *Flavii Ariovindi et Flavii Asparis*, giving the names of the two consuls. De Rossi suggests: ΦΛς ΦΑΥCΤου, *i.e. Flavii Fausti*, or 490, A.D.

III. THOSE IN WHICH SOME CHARACTERISTIC OF THE DECEASED IS STATED.

16.

(See Plate II, 1.)

(*E coemeterio Laurentii;* De Rossi, n 23.)

Σιμπλικία ἡ καὶ Καλώννμος ἔζησεν ἔτη ιᾱ ἡμέρας κϛ̄ ἐτελεύτησεν πρὸ ιϛ̄ καλ. Νοβεμβρίων Φαύστῳ καὶ Γάλλῳ ὑπάτοις.

"Simplicia, who was also rightly so named, lived eleven years, twenty-three days, died on the thirteenth day before the Calends of November, in the Consulship of Faustus and Gallus," *i.e.* October 20th, 298, A.D.

These consuls were Anicius Faustus, for the second time, and Virius Gallus. See De Rossi, p. 28, and Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, ii., 194.

Ἡ καὶ, like the Latin *quæ et*, is frequently used to signify "who also was called." Here I have taken καλώννμος as an adjective, as it has been understood by Montfaucon, Kirchhoff, and De Rossi. The signification is, that her name, *Simplicia*, was a true indication of her habits and manners.

17.

INNOCENTISSIMO · PAVLO
QVI · VIX · M · X · D · XIIII · DEPOSIT · PRID
NON · DECE · IN PACE · COSTANTIO · III · ET
COSTATE · II · CONS ·

(*E coem. Prætextati;* De Rossi, n. 67.)

Innocentissimo Paulo, qui vixit menses X, dies XIV. Depositus. pridie Nonas Decembres, Constantio III et Costate (Constante) *II Consulibus.*

"To the very innocent Paul, who lived ten months, fourteen days. Buried on the day before the Nones of December, in the Consulship of Constantius for the third time, and Constans for the second time," *i.e.* December 4th, 342, A.D.

18.

(See Plate II, 4.)

PLATE V

Epitaph No 1c

ΣΙΜΙΛΙΚΙΑ·Η·ΚΑΙ
ΚΑΛΩΝΥΜΟΣ·ΕΖΗ
ΣΕΝ·Ε ΤΗ·ΙΑ·ΗΜΕΡΑΣ·ΚΓ
ΕΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣΕΝ ΠΡΟ Γ·ΚΑΛ·ΝΟΒΕΜΒΡ ΦΑΥΣΤΩ ΚΑΙ
ΓΑΛΛΩ ΥΠΑΤΟΙΣ

Epitaph No 1d

ΦΗΛΙΑΠΑΥΛΑ
ΑΕΓΕΝΝΗΘΗΑ
ΚΑΙΚΑΠΙΤΩΛΕΙΝΩ
ΠΡΟ Η ΚΑΛΑΝΔΩΝ
ΩΕΖΗΣΕΝ ΕΤΗ·ΔΥΟ
ΜΕΚΑΙΠΕΝΤΕ

Epitaph No 1a

ΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΑΕΙΜΝΗΣΤΟΣΦΙΛΟ.....
Δ ΗΠΟΣΕΙΤΟΥΣ Θ·ΚΩ ΚΤΒΑ Μαντίῳ.....
ΑΝΝΟΥΣ ΤΡΙΠΙΝΤΑ ΙΝ ΠΑΚΕ

Epitaph No 1b

ϹΩΚΡΑΤΗϹ ΑΕΙΜΝΗϹΤΟϹ ΦΙΛο . . . . .
ΔΗΠΟϹΕΙΤΟΥϹ ΘΚΩΚΤΒΑΜ . . . . .
ΑΝΝΟΥϹΤΡΙΓΙΝΤΑ ΙΝ ΠΑΚΕ

(*E coem. Cyriacæ;* De Rossi, n. 85.)

Σωκράτης ἀείμνηστος φιλο . . . . *depositus* $\overline{\theta}$ (*IX*) *Kalendas Octobres Am*antio et Albino Consulibus, vixit *annus* (annos) *triginta in pace.*

"Socrates, ever to be remembered . . . buried on the ninth day before the Calends of October, in the Consulship of Amantius and Albinus" (*i.e.* September 23rd, 345, A.D.) He lived thirty years, in peace."

19.

BONOSO BENE · MERENTI IN PACE
QVI VIXIT ANNIS · II · M · III · D · XX
DEP PRID · IDVS · SEPT · POST
CONSS · AMANTI ET ALBINI

(*Velitris;* De Rossi, n. 92.)

Bonoso bene merenti, in pace, qui vixit annis II, mensibus III, diebus XX. Depositus, pridie Idus Septembres, post consulatum Amantii et Albini.

"To Bonosus, well-deserving, in peace, who lived two years, three months, twenty days. Buried on the day before the Ides of September (*i.e.* September 12th), (in the year) after the Consulship of Amantius and Albinus," *i.e.* 346, A.D.

l. 1. *Bene Merenti.* This was a very general characteristic of the deceased, both in heathen and Christian epitaphs. It is frequently contracted thus: B · M · See n. 33.

20.

ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΤΕ
ΕΥΤΕΡΠΗ Η ΤΩΝ
ΜΟΥϹΩΝ ϹΥΝΤΡΟΦΟϹ
ΒΙΩϹΑϹΑ ΑΠΛΩϹ ΚΑΙ
ΟϹΕΙΩϹ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΕΜ
ΠΤΩϹ ΕΠΙ ΕΤ ΙΕ
ΕΙΜ $\overline{\text{ΚΒ}}$ ΜΗΝ $\overline{\Gamma}$
ΕΤΕΛΕΥΤΗ ΠΡΟ $\overline{\text{Ε}}$ ΚΑΛ
ΔΕΚΕΜΒ ΥΠΑΤΙΑ
ΤΩΝ $\overline{\text{ΚΥ}}$ ΤΟ $\overline{\text{Ι}}$ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ $\overline{\Gamma}$

(*Prope Motycam* (in Sicilia); Kirchhoff, n. 9524.)

Ἐνθάδε κεῖτε (κεῖται) Εὐτέρπη ἡ τῶν Μουσῶν σύνδρομος βιώσασα ἁπλῶς καὶ ὁσείως (ὁσίως) καὶ ἀμέμπτως ἐπὶ ἔτη ῑ, ἡμέρας κβ̄, μῆνας γ̄. Ἐτελεύτησεν τῇ πρὸ ε̄ καλανδῶν Δεκεμβρίων ὑπατίᾳ τῶν κυρίων τὸ ῑ καὶ τὸ γ̄.

"Here lies Euterpe, the companion of the Muses, having lived simply, and piously, and irreproachably, for fifteen years, twenty-two days, three months. She died on the fifth day before the Calends of December, in the Consulship of our Lords, for the tenth time, and for the third time," (*i.e.* in the Consulship of Constantius, for the tenth time, and Julian, for the third time), *i.e.* November 27th, 360, A.D.

The abbreviation, whereby the names of the Emperors, or of the Emperor and the Cæsar, were omitted, and merely the numbers of their Consulships stated, is rare in Christian inscriptions. The most obvious example of it in heathen *tituli*, is—TER ET SEMEL COSS, *i.e.* 202, A.D., in which Severus was Consul for the third time, and Caracalla for the first.

21.

HIC POSITA EST ANIMA DVLCES
INNOCA SAPIENS ET PVLCHRA NOMINE
QVIRIACE QVE VIXIT · ANNOS · III · M · III · DVIII
DP IN PACE IIII · ID · IAN · CONSS · DN · TEVDOSIO · AVG · II
ET MEROBAVDE · VC · III ·

(*In Mus. Lat.*; De Rossi, n. 370.)

Hic posita est anima dulces (dulcis), *innoca* (innocua), *sapiens et pulchra, nomine Quiriace, quæ vixit annos III, menses III, dies VIII. Deposita in pace, IV Idus Januarias, Consulibus Domino Nostro Teodosio* (Theodosio) *Augusto II et Merobaude, Viro Clarissimo, III.*

"Here has been laid a sweet spirit, guileless, wise, and beautiful, by name Quiriace, who lived three years, three months, eight days. Buried, in peace, on the fourth day before the Ides of January, in the Consulship of our Lord Theodosius Augustus, for the second time, and Merobaudes, a most distinguished man, for the third time," *i.e.* January 10th, 388, A.D.

The name *Quiriace* is another form of *Cyriace*, both being Κυριακὴ Latinized.

There is great difficulty as to the junction of *Merobaudes* with *Theodosius*, in the second consulship of the latter. The *Fasti*, laws, and public acts mention, in his place, *Cynegius*. The best solution, of which I am aware, is that proposed by De Rossi in his note.

22.

HIC REQVIESCET QVODVVLDEVS HO
NESTERECORDATIONES VIR OVI VIC
XIT ANNOS · L · ϥI DEPOSITVS IN PACE
DIE V IDVS OCTOBRES CONSS DD NN
ARCADIO AVG QVATER ET HONO
RIO AVG TER CONSVLIBVS

(*In Mus. Lat.;* De Rossi, n. 436.)

Hic requiescet (requiescit) *Quodvuldeus* (Quodvultdeus), *honeste* (honestæ) *recordationes* (recordationis) *vir, ovi* (qui) *vicxit* (vixit) *annos LVII. Depositus in pace, die V Idus Octobres, Consulibus Dominis Nostris Arcadio Augusto quater et Honorio Augusto ter Consulibus.*

"Here rests *Quodvultdeus*, a man worthy to be remembered with honor, who lived fifty-seven years. Buried, in peace, on the fifth day before the Ides of October, in the Consulship of our Lords Arcadius Augustus, for the fourth time, and Honorius Augustus, for the third time," *i.e.* October 11th, 396, A.D.

Christians assumed such names as *Adeodatus, Deusdedit, Quodvultdeus.*

23.

ENΘAΔE KEITAI EYTYXIANOΣ
ZHCAC EN XΩ TEΛEYTATHΔPΘ
KAΛAΝΔΩN AYΓOYCTΩN YΠ
ANIKIOY AYXENIOY BACCOYK
ΦAΙΦAIΠΠOY

(*Acris prope Syracusas;* Kirchhoff, n. 9478.)

Ἐνθάδε κεῖται Εὐτυχιανὸς ζήσας ἐν Χριστῷ. Τελευτᾷ ιϛ πρὸ θ̄ Καλανδῶν Αὐγούστων ὑπατίᾳ Ἀνικίου Αὐχενίου Βάσσου καὶ Φλ. Φιλίππου.

"Here lies Eutychianus, having lived in Christ. He dies on the ninth day before the Calends of August, in the Consulship of Anicius Auchenius Bassus, and Flavius Philippus," *i.e.* July 24th, 408, A.D.

24.

GVLFINVS · FAMVLVS · DEI
VIXIT · ANNOS · PLVS · MINVS · LXX
RECESSIT · IN · PACE · D · III · KAL
AVGVSTAS · ERA · D

(*Hispali;* Maffei, *Mus. Ver.*, 423, 3.)

Gulfinus, famulus Dei, vixit annos plus minus LXX. Recessit in pace, die III Kalendas Augustas, era D.

"Gulfinus, a servant of God, lived seventy years, more or less. He retired (from this world), in peace, on the third day before the Calends of August, in the 500th year of the æra," *i.e.* July 30th, 462, A.D.

The Spanish æra counts from January 1st, 38, B.C. There are many examples of its use. The oldest that I have observed is that given above.

25.

AETERNALIS FA
MVLVS DEI VIXIT
AN · XLVI · REQ · IN
PAC · VI · KAL · SE
PTEM ERA DNI
D · XLVIII

(*Galistei in Lusitania, ex Emerita;* Muratori, 1821, 9.)

Æternalis, famulus Dei, vixit annos XLVI, requiescit in pace, VI. Kalendas Septembres, era Domini DXLVIII.

"Æternalis, a servant of God, lived forty-six years, rested in peace on the sixth day before the Calends of September, in the 500th year of the æra of (our) Lord," *i.e.* August 27th, 510, A.D.

I have given this example on account of the use of DNI, which is not common. If we had ANNO DNI, it would, of course, refer to the Christian, or Dionysian, æra; but this is said to have been first used in the year of Christ, 525. As it stands, DNI = *Domini* means Augustus, referring to his subjugation of Spain. Or, is DNI a contraction of *Dominii*, *i.e.* of Roman rule?

IV. THOSE IN WHICH THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE DECEASED IS STATED.

(*a.*) To a father:— 26.

LEOPARDO PATRI DVLCISSIMO
BENEMERENTI IN PACE DEP
DIE XV · KAL · IAN · CONSTANTIO VIII
ET IVLIANO CAES · CONS

(*Ad S. Agnen.;* De Rossi, n. 130.)

Leopardo, patri dulcissimo, benemerenti in pace. Depositus, die XV Kalendas Januarias, Constantio VIII et Juliano Cæsare Consulibus.

"To Leopardus (our, or my) sweetest father, well-deserving, in peace. Buried on the fifteenth day before the Calends of January, in the Consulship of Constantius, for the eighth time, and Julianus Cæsar," *i.e.* December 18th, 356, A.D.

The terms designating animals were commonly applied as names of persons, both by pagans and by Christians, who, also, were in the habit of using figures of those animals as representatives, as in modern heraldry we have "canting arms," *armes parlantes*. Thus, in the Catacombs, we find a lion for a man named *Leo*, a little pig for a girl named *Porcella*, with the object, as is believed, of enabling those who could not read, to distinguish the *loculus* of a friend or relative.

(*b.*) To a mother:— 27.

TIGRITI BENEMERIII IN PACE
QVE VICSIT ANNOS · XXX
MEN · II · DEPOSITA · VIII · KAL
IAN · DD · NN · TEVDOSIO · III · ET
EVGENIO
EILIVS EECEI MATRI

(*In Lat.;* De Rossi, n. 414.)

Tigriti (Tigridi) *benemeriii* (benemeritæ), *in pace, que* (quæ) *viesit* (vixit) *annos XXX, menses II. Deposita, VIII Kalendas Januarias, Dominis Nostris Teudosio* (Theodosio) *III et Eugenio. Eilius* (filius) *eecei* (feci) *matri.*

"To Tigris, well-deserving, in peace, who lived thirty years, two months. Buried on the eighth day before the Calends of January, (in the Consulship of) our Lords Theodosius, for the third time, and Eugenius" (*i.e.* December 25th, 393, A.D.) I, (her) son, made (this) for (my) mother."

(*c.*) To a husband:— 28.

DEPOSSIO IVNIANI PRI · IDVS APRILES MARCELLINO
[ET PROBINO CONSS ·
QVI BIXIT ANNIS XL IN PACE RECESSIT ET AMATOR
[PAVPERORVM VIXIT
CVM BRGINIA ANNIS · XV · BENEMERENTI BIRGINIA SVA
[BICTORA
BENEMERENTI FECIT AMATRIX PAVPERORVM ET
[OPERARIA

(*In Mus. Lat.;* De Rossi, n. 62.)

Depossio (depositio) *Juniani, pridie Idus Apriles, Marcellino et Probino Consulibus, qui bixit* (vixit) *annis* (annos) *XL. In pace decissit* (decessit) *et amator pauperorum* (pauperum), *vixit cum brginia* (virginia) *annis* (annos) *XV. Bene merenti, birginia* (vir-

ginia) *sua Bictora* (Victoria), *bene merenti, fecit amatrix pauperorum* (pauperum) *et operaria.*

"The burial of Junianus (took place) on the day before the Ides of April, in the consulship of Marcellinus and Probinus (*i.e.* April 12th, 341, A.D.), who lived forty years. He departed, in peace, and (was) a lover of the poor. He lived with his wife fifteen years. To him, well-deserving, his wife Victoria, a lover of the poor, and attentive to her work, made (this) to him well-deserving."

l. 3. *Brginia* = *Virginia* = a wife, who was a maiden when married. Thus, also, *Virginius* = *Maritus.* l. 4. *Operaria* = industrious. This praise of a female is found in heathen epitaphs. Thus, *lanam fecit*, Gruter, 769, 9; *lanifica*, Orelli, 4658; and καὶ ἐργάτις, Boeckh. *Corp. Inscrip. Græc.*, 954.

29.

LIMENIO · ET · CATVLINO · CONSS · III ·
IDVS · IANVARIAS · DEFVNCTVS · EST
EVVODIVS · QVI · VIXIT · ANNOS · LXV
MENSES · TRES · ET · DIES · XI · BENEME
RENTI · IN PACE FECIT · CONIVX

(*E coem. Prætextati*; De Rossi, n. 104.)

Limenio et Catulino Consulibus, III Idus Januarias, defunctus est Evvodius qui vixit annos LXV, menses III, et dies XI. Benemerenti in pace fecit conjux.

"In the Consulship of Limenius and Catulinus (*i.e.* 349, A.D.), on the third day before the Ides of January (*i.e.* January 11th), Evodius died, who lived sixty-five years, three months, and eleven days. His wife made (this) to him, well-deserving, in peace."

30.

FELIX SANCTAE · FIDEI · VOCITVS · IIT IN PACE ·
CVIVS · TANTVS AMOR · ET CARITAS · RETENETVR · AB
[AMICIS IN AEVO
QVI CVM ESSET FVIT SOLACIVS · MISERICORS · OMNIBVS
AGRIPPINA FECIT · DVLCISSIMO SVO MARITO [NOTVS ·
CVM QVEM VIXIT SINE LESIONE ANIMI · ANNOS III ·
[ET M · X ·
FVIT IN SAECVLVM QUOD VIXIT · ANNOS XXXII · DEP · XIII ·
[KAL · SEPT · VALENTINIANO
NP ET VICTORI CONSS

(*E basilica Vaticana*; De Rossi, n. 211.)

Felix, sanctæ fidei, vocitus (vocatus) *iit in pace, cujus tantus amor et caritas retenetur* (retinetur) *ab amicis: in ævo qui cum esset fuit solocius, miscricors, omnibus notus. Agrippina fecit dulcissimo suo marito, cum quem* (quo) *vixit sine lesione* (læsione) *animi annos III et menses X. Fuit in sæculum* (sæculo), *quod* (quoad) *vixit, annos XXXII. Depositus, XIII Kalendas Septembres, Valentiniano, Nobilissimo puero, et Victori* (Victore) *Consulibus.*

"Felix, of sacred honor, (when) called (away) went in peace, whose love and affection are so warmly cherished by his friends: who, when he was in life, was known to all for sympathy with the afflicted, and compassion towards the distressed. Agrippina made (this) to her very sweet husband, with whom she lived, without jarring, three years and ten months. He was in this world, whilst he lived, thirty-two years. Buried on the thirteenth day before the Calends of September, in the Consulship of Valentinianus, the most noble boy, and Victor," *i.e.* August 20th, 369, A.D.

l. 1. *Sanctæ fidei.* Literally "holy faith," but the meaning seems to be "of sacred honor," "of strict integrity." *Vocitus* for *vocatus*, as *probitas, rogitus.* l. 5. *Sine læsione animi.* Northcote, "Roman Catacombs," p. 137, seems to regard such statements of conjugal harmony, as peculiar to Christian inscriptions; but this eulogy is often found in heathen epitaphs, both from husbands to wives, and *vice versa.* Other forms of it are *sine querela, sine jurgio, sine dissidio.* Hence, Kenrick, "Roman Sepulchral Inscriptions," p. 42, justly remarks: "The married life of the Romans appears to have been remarkably free from domestic differences." l. 7. *Nobilissimo puero. Nobilissimus* was the term applied to the *Cæsar* from the time of Commodus and Severus; but, in the fourth century, it was extended in its use.

31.

MIRE · SAPIENTIAE
AVGENDO QVI VIXIT
ANN PLVS MIN · LXXII
CVM VXORE FECIT
ANN XXX DEPOSITVS
XVI · KAL OCTOB DN GRA
TIANO AVG · II ET PROBO C$\overline{\text{ON}}$

(*Neapoli, in Mus. Borbon.*; De Rossi, n. 225.)

Mire (miræ) *sapientiæ Augendo, qui vixit annos plus minus LXXII. Cum uxore fecit annos XXX. Depositus, XVI Kalendas Octobres, Domino nostro Gratiano Augusto II et Probo Consulibus.*

"To Augendus, of wonderful wisdom, who lived seventy-two years, more or less. He passed thirty years with his wife. Buried on the sixteenth day before the Calends of October, in the Consulship of our Lord Gratian Augustus, for the second time, and Probus," *i.e.* September 16th, 371, A.D.

l. 4. *Fecit.* *Facere* is often used in the sense "to spend," "to pass," in Christian epitaphs; and this signification is not peculiar to them.

32.

APRO · QVI · VIXIT · ANNOS XLVIII · MENSES III · DIES
XVI : DEPOSITVS IN PACE VI · KALENDAS MARTIAS
POST CONS · GRATIANI ET EQVITII · LIMFIRIA MARITO
FECIT MECVM ANNOS XX ·

(*E coem. Callisti.*; De Rossi, n. 248.)

Apro, qui vixit annos XLVIII, menses III, dies XVI. Depositus in pace, VI Kalendas Martias, post consulatum Gratiani et Equitii. Limfiria marito. Fecit mecum annos viginti.

"To Aper, who lived forty-eight years, four months, sixteen days. Buried, in peace, on the sixth day before the Calends of March, in the year after the Consulship of Gratianus and Equitius (*i.e.* February 24th, 375, A.D.). Limfiria to her husband. He passed twenty years with me."

(*d.*) To a wife:— 33.

B M
CVBICVLVM · AVRELIAE · MARTINAE CASTISSIMAE AD-
[QVE · PVDI
CISSIMAE FEMINAE QVE FECIT · INCONIVGIO ANN ·
[XXIII D XIIII
BENEMERENTI · QVEVIXIT · ANN · XL · M · XI · D · XIII
[DEPOSITIO EIVS
DIE · III · NONAS · OCT · NEPOTIANO · ET FACVNDO CONSS ·
[IN PACE

(*In Mus. Lat.*; De Rossi, n. 45.)

Bene merenti. Cubiculum Aureliæ Martinæ, castissimæ adque (atque) *pudicissimæ feminæ, que* (quæ) *fecit in conjugio annos*

XXIII, dies XIV. Bene merenti que (quæ) *vixit annos XL, menses XI, dies XIII. Depositio ejus, die III Nonas Octobres, Nepotiano et Facundo Consulibus. In pace.*

"To (one) well-deserving. The sleeping-place of Aurelia Martina, a most chaste and modest woman, who passed in wedlock twenty-three years, fourteen days. To her, well-deserving, who lived forty years, eleven months, thirteen days. Her burial (took place) on the third day before the Nones of October, in the Consulship of Nepotianus and Facundus, (*i.e.* October 5th, 335, A.D.). In peace."

l. 1. *B. M.* These letters stand sometimes for *bene merenti*, sometimes for *bonæ memoriæ*, never for *beatus* or *beata martyr* (as suggested by Bonfant), for which there is no authority. l. 2. *Cubiculum.* This term for the grave or tomb, is found, also, in heathen epitaphs. It is applied, by writers on the Catacombs, to a chamber, which "was appropriated as the private vault, so to call it, of a particular family."

34.

AVR · CANDIDIANAE BENE QVESQVEN
TI IN PACE QVAE VIXIT ANNIS XXXI
MENSES · VIIII · CVM MARITO FVIT ANNOS
XI · MENSES · VIII · DIES · X · DEPOSITA KAL [COSS ·
APRIL · CONSTANTINO AVG · II · ET CONSTANTE AVG ·

(*In pavim. ad. S. Apollinaris;* De Rossi, n. 52.)

Aureliæ Candidianæ bene quesquenti (quiescenti), *in pace, quæ vixit annis* (annos) *XXXI, menses IX, cum marito fuit annos XI, menses VIII, dies X. Deposita, Kalendis Aprilibus, Constantino Augusto II et Constante Augusto Consulibus.*

"To Aurelia Candidiana, resting well, in peace, who lived thirty-one years, (and) nine months. She was with her husband (*i.e.* her married life was) eleven years, eight months, (and) ten days. Buried on the Calends of April, in the Consulship of Constantinus Augustus, for the second time, and Constans Augustus," *i.e.* April 1st, 339, A.D.

35.

VISCILIVS NICENI · COSTAE · SVAE
QVAE FVIT · ANNOR · P · M · XXXI · EX QVIBVS
DVRABIT · MECVM ANNOS XV · FECI IN SE
SI EO DONO · SIM · EXIBIT · DE SAECVLO
VI · IDVS · IVL · MAMERTINO · ET · NEVITA

(*In coem. S. Hermetis;* De Rossi, n. 151.)

Viscilius Niceni, costæ suæ, quæ fuit annorum plus minus XXXI, ex quibus durabit (duravit) *mecum annos XV. Feci in se si eo dono sim. Exibit* (exivit) *de sæculo, VI Idus Julias, Mamertino et Nevita* (Novitta).

"Viscilius, to Nice his rib, who was of thirty-one years (of age) more or less, of which she passed with me fifteen years. I made it for ourselves, if I am (should be) worthy of such a gift. She departed from this world, on the sixth day before the Ides of July, in the Consulship of Mamertinus and Nevitta," *i.e.* July 10th, 362, A.D.

l. 1. *Niceni.* This change of the declension of nouns is common. Thus we have *Leopardeti, Eireneti,* &c. *Ispeti,* for *Spei,* is a notable example of *metaplasmus,* with the introduction of the prefix *i.* See n. 41.

Burgon was not aware of this usage. In p. 197, he gives an inscription—*filiæ Mercuraneti*—and asks: "Who ever heard of such a name as *Mercuranetis?* and yet, since I am sure that the word is copied accurately, what else can the nominative be?" It was *Mercurane,* otherwise *Mercuriane.*

Costæ. There is no authority for the use of *costa* for *uxor,* but there are two examples in Greek, in which Gregory Nazianzen uses the term, doubtless with reference to Genesis, ii., 21.

l. 3. *Feci in se si eo dono sim.* It is very difficult to give a satisfactory interpretation to these words. Lami, to whom we are indebted for the suggestion that *costæ* stands for *uxori,* does not attempt to explain them. Oderic enquires: *an forte* FECI, *hunc nimirum titulum, ne conjux mea* SINE EO DONO SIT, *nempe ne careat hoc amoris mei pignore?* Danzetta proposes: FECI*mus* IN SE*culo* SI*ne* VLLO DOLORE SIM*ul.* De Rossi justly rejects both of these. He explains FECI IN SE, as standing for FECI INTER SE, *i.e. annos XV feci una cum ea,* and explains EO DONO as governed by *dignus* understood; whilst he regards SIM as used for *fuerim,* or *fui, i.e. si tamen eo dono dignus fuerim,* or *fui*—"quo elogio non aliud aptius Christianæ uxori ab viro Christianæ humilitatis studioso potuit inscribi."

This is an ingenious, but unsatisfactory, explanation. I am inclined to take *feci* in the ordinary sense, "made," and *se* as used for "ourselves;" and, adopting De Rossi's suggestion of an ellipsis of *dignus,* to regard *dono* as referring to the "gift," or "blessing," of burial with her; but I am not satisfied.

36.

ERENI QVE VIXITANN
PMXLVCVMCVPARE
SVO FECITANNVSVIII
QVERECESSITIIINONIN
PACESVBDAMASOEPISCO ·

(*In Mus. Lat.*; De Rossi, n. 190.)

Ereni (Eirenæ), *que* (quæ) *vixit annos plus minus XLV, cum cupare* (compare) *suo fecit annus* (annos) *VIII, que* (quæ) *recessit III Nonas in pace sub Damaso Episcopo.*

"To Eirene, who lived forty-five years, more or less, passed eight years with her husband, who retired on the third day before the Nones, in peace, under Bishop Damasus," *i.e.* 366 or 367, A.D.

Mamachi, Zaccaria, and Morcelli inferred from this inscription, that the names of the Bishops of Rome were used, from the fourth century, to mark dates. But, in all the dated epitaphs, there is only one other example of this use. See De Rossi, n. 139. The reason for using the terms *sub Damaso Episcopo* here is, that in the first two years of his Episcopate there was a rival bishop, *Ursinus*, or *Ursicinus*, whose claims were supported by a considerable portion of the laity. The deceased, or her friends, took the side of Damasus.

37.

HIC REQUIESCIT IN PACE FILICISSIMA
QVAE VIXIT ANNVS LX · QVAE FECIT CVM VIRO
SUO ANNVS XLV · DEPOSITA PRIDIE · KAL · IAN ·
HONORIO · AUG · UII · HILARANVS CONTRA
VOTVM POSUIT

(*In Mus. Capitol.*; De Rossi, n. 577.)

Hic requiescit in pace Filicissima (Felicissima), *quæ vixit annus* (annos) *LX, quæ fecit cum viro suo annus* (annos) *XL. Deposita, pridie Kalendas Januarias, Honorio Augusto VII. Hilaranus contra votum posuit.*

"Here rests in peace, Felicissima, who lived sixty years, who passed with her husband forty-five years. Buried on the day before the Calends of January, in the Consulship of Honorius Augustus, for the seventh time (*i.e.* December 31st, 407, A.D.) Hilaranus placed this against his wish."

This use of *contra votum* is found in heathen inscriptions. The origin of it, I suspect, was, that when a person had made a vow

contingent on the recovery of some one from illness, he was disinclined, or was afraid, to omit the performance of the vow, even though the object had not been attained. Here, and in other places, the words simply mean "against the wish." Mark the use of both U and V. l. 2. *LX.* In De Rossi's copy we have XL: I have followed Muratori.

38.

HIC REQVIESCIT IN PACE IANVARIA
L · F · QVAE VIXIT P̄L̄ · M · ANN · XXVIII · C · MA
RITV · FEC · ANN XV · M · XI · D · X · DEP ·
D · XV · KAL · FEBRVAR · II · P̄C̄ BILI
SARI V̄Ī P IND · PRIMA
HIC REQVIESCIT IN PACE FILICELLVS SVBD ·
QV . . . . . .

(*Nolæ;* De Rossi, *in comment.* n. 1055.)

Hic requiescit in pace Januaria, laudabilis femina, quæ vixit plus minus annos XXVIII, cum maritu (marito) *fecit annos XV, menses XI, dies X. Deposita, die XV Kalendas Februarias, II post consulatum Bilisari* (Belisarii), *Viri Illustris, per indictione* (indictionem) *prima* (primam). *Hic requiescit in pace Filicellus subdiaconus qui* . . . . . .

"Here rests in peace, Januaria, a praiseworthy woman, who lived twenty-eight years, more or less; passed with her husband fifteen years, eleven months, ten days. Buried on the fifteenth day before the Calends of February, in the second year after the Consulship of Belisarius, during the first Indiction (*i.e.* January 18th, 538, A.D.) Here rests in peace, Filicellus, a Subdeacon, who" . . . . . .

l. 3. *Ann. XV · M · XI · D · X.* From this it appears that Januaria was married when she was about twelve years of age. There are examples of marriage at eleven, and, even, ten. See Fabretti, p. 586, and Orelli, 2653. l. 4. II · P̄C̄. De Rossi's note, in which he determines the year, is well worthy of attentive perusal.

(*e.*) To a son:— 39.

MIRAE · INNOCENTIAE AC SAPIENTIAE
PVERO · MARCIANO QVI VIXIT ANN · IIII ET
MENSES · IIII · DIES · II · QVIESCET IN PACE
D · PRID · KAL · DEC · ARBETIONE ET LOLLIANO COSS ·
[PARENTES FECERVNT

(*E coem. Priscillæ,;* De Rossi, n. 125.)

Mirœ innocentiœ ac sapientiœ puero, Marciano, qui vixit annos IV, et menses IV, dies II. Quiescet (quiescit) *in pace. Depositus, pridie Kalendas Decembres, Arbetione et Lolliano Consulibus. Parentes fecerunt.*

"To Marcianus, a boy of wonderful innocence and intelligence, who lived four years, and four months, (and) two days. He rests in peace. Buried on the day before the Calends of December, in the Consulship of Arbetio and Lollianus (*i.e.* November 30th, 354, A.D.) His parents made this."

40.

CL · MAMERTINO ET FL NEVITTA · CONSS
DVLCISSIMO FILIO PETRIO QVI VIXIT · ANN XII
M · I · D · XV DEP PRID KAL · SEPT · IN PACE
EVTYCHES PATER · FECIT

(*E coem. Callisti;* De Rossi, n. 153.)

Claudio Mamertino et Flavio Nevitta Consulibus, dulcissimo filio Petrio, qui vixit annos XII, mensem I, dies XV. Depositus pridie Kalendas Septembres in pace. Eutyches pater fecit.

"In the Consulship of Claudius Mamertinus and Flavius Nevitta (*i.e.* 362, A.D.), to his very sweet son, Petrius, who lived twelve years, one month, and fifteen days. Buried the day before the Calends of September (*i.e.* August 31st), in peace. Eutyches, his father, made this."

(*f.*) To a daughter:— 41.

TI · CL · MARCIANVS · ET
CORNELIA · HILARITAS
CORNELIAE · PAVLAE · PAR ·
FECR · QVAE · VIX · ANN · X · DIEB
VIII · DEC · X · KAL AVG · MAX · ET
VRB · COS ·

(*E coem. S. Hermetis;* De Rossi, n. 6.)

Tiberius Claudius Marcianus et Cornelia Hilaritas, Corneliœ Paulœ parentes fecerunt, quœ vixit annis (annos) *X, diebus* (dies) *VIII. Decessit, X Kalendas Augustas, Maximo et Urbano Consulibus.*

"Tiberius Claudius Marcianus and Cornelia Hilaritas, (her) parents, made (this) to Cornelia Paula, who lived ten years, eight days. She departed on the tenth day before the Calends of August, in the Consulship of Maximus and Urbanus," (*i.e.* July 23rd, 234, A.D.)

l. 1. The use of the three names—*Tiberius Claudius Marcianus*—deserves special notice. There is no example of this in any Christian

epitaph after the third century. This characteristic, and the identity of the names of the deceased with those of the wife of the Emperor Elagabalus, who was contemporary, have suggested the suspicion that the family was of good rank. In Orelli, n. 4570, we have another Cornelia Paula of the date 211, A.D. This inscription is the earliest of those bearing dates that are accompanied by symbols. Those used here are the fish and the anchor. The fish, as is well known, was chosen, as the letters that form the Greek word for it, *scil.* ΙΧΘΥΣ, are the initials of Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ—Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour. Tertullian regarded it as a fit emblem of Him, whose children are "born of water" in baptism. The anchor is regarded as signifying "the close of a well-spent life, the conclusion of a successful voyage, when the anchor is cast;" or that hope, which "we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and stedfast." Both these symbols are mentioned by Clemens Alexandrinus, as suitable for representation on the seals of Christians.

42.

(See Plate I, 1.)

(*In Secret. S. Mariæ Transtib.;* De Rossi, n. 11.)

Κωσουλε Κλυδειω εδ Πατερνω ϖωνεις Νοβειβρειβους δειε Βενερες λουνα XXIIII Λευκες φελειε Σεβηρε καρεσσεμε ποσουετε εδ εισπειρειτω σανκτω τουω μορτουα αννουωρωμ VL εδ μησωρων XI δευρων X.

Consule Claudio et Paterno, Nonis Novembribus, die Veneris, luna XXIV, Leuces filiæ Severæ carissimæ posuit et spiritui sancto tuo. Mortua annorum LV et mensium XI dierum X.

"In the Consulship of Claudius and Paternus (*i.e.* 269, A.D.), on the Nones of November (*i.e.* November 5th), on Friday, the 24th day of the Moon, Leuce erected (this memorial) to her very dear daughter, and to thy holy spirit. She (died at the age) of fifty-five years, and eleven months, (and) ten days."

(*E coemeterio Saturnini;* De Rossi, n. 11.)

This is the celebrated inscription that Lupi was the first to explain. Marini pointed out that the numerals, which he read ϛL, were written *ἀντιστρόφως, i.e.* = Lϛ = 56. De Rossi shows that those numerals were really VL, which, according to Marini's view, he takes for LV. He corrects the error of Lupi, as to the Consulships being the second of Claudius, and the third of Paternus, and also ascertained that Lupi's suggestion, that the word before αννουωρωμ

may be *martura*, not *moxtua*, must be rejected, as the letters are distinctly MOPTOYA, *i.e. mortua*.

l. 4. Λευκες. In Muratori, p. 27, we have *Lucens* as the Latin form of this name, and in p. cccIxvi, *Leuces*. Orelli, n. 1022, gives *Leuce*. l. 5. ειςπειρειτω σανκτω τουω, *i.e. ispirito* (spiritui) *sancto tuo*. This use of *i* as a prefix is often found in Christian epitaphs. It is one of many indications of the lapse of Latin into Italian. The change of person—*tuo* for *ejus*—occurs in Classical authors. The points in this, as in some heathen inscriptions, are no indication of the intervals between words.

43.

SVCCESSAE FILIAE DVL
CISSIMAE PARENTES · Q · V · AN
NOS DVOS M · XI · D · IIBMINPACE
DPXVIIIKALSEPTNIGRINIANO

(*In Mus. Lat.*; De Rossi, n. 110.)

Successæ, filiæ dulcissimæ, parentes, quæ vixit annos II, menses XI, dies II. Bene merenti in pace. Deposita, XVIII Kalendas Septembres, Nigriniano (consule).

"To Successa, (their) sweetest daughter, her parents (made this); who lived two years, eleven months, two days. To her, well-deserving, in peace. Buried on the eighteenth day before the Calends of September, in the Consulship of Nigrinianus," *i.e.* August 25th, 350, A.D.

44.

REVECCAE INNOCENTI QVAE VIXIT
ANNVM VNVM MENSEM VNVM
DIES XVII BENEMERENTI IN PACE
DEPOSITA VIIII KAL · SEPTEMBRES
FLAVIO · CAESARIO · ET NONIO
ATTICO · VV · CC · CONSS
PARENTES BENEMERENTI FECERVNT

(*In Mus. Capitol.*; De Rossi, n. 450.)

Revecca (Rebeccæ) *innocenti, quæ vixit annum, I mensem I, dies XVII. Bene merenti in pace. Deposita IX Kalendas Septembres Flavio Cæsario et Nonio Attico, Viris Clarissimis, Consulibus. Parentes bene merenti fecerunt.*

"To the innocent Rebecca, who lived one year, one month, seventeen days. To her, well-deserving, in peace. Buried on the ninth day before

the Calends of September, in the Consulship of Flavius Cæsarius and Nonius Atticus, most distinguished men (*i.e.* August 24th, 397, A.D.) Her parents made this to her well-deserving."

45.

ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑΠΕΝΤΑΕΤΗCΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΙΤΕΥΠΑΤΙΑ
ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΠΟΛΙΤΙCCΑ
ΤΗΙΠΡΟΔΕΚΑΚΑΛΑΝΔΟΝ ΦΕΒΡΑΡΙΩΝΥΠΑΤΙΑΑΝΙΚΙΩ
ΒΑCCΟΥΚΑΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥΤΩΝΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΩΝ

(*In coemet. S. Pauli via Ostiensi;* De Rossi, n. 583.)

Τριακονταπενταετὴς ἐνθάδε κῖτε (κεῖται) Ὑπατία θυγάτηρ Ἀντωνίου Κω(ν)σταντινοπολίτισσα τῇ πρὸ δέκα καλανδῶν Φεβραρίων ὑπατίᾳ Ἀνικίῳ (Ἀνικίου) Βάσσου καὶ Φιλίππου τῶν λαμπροτάτων.

"Here lies Hypatia, thirty-five years of age, daughter of Antonius, a native of Constantinople, on the tenth day before the Calends of February, in the Consulship of Anicius Bassus and Philippus, most distinguished (men)," *i.e.* January 23rd, 408, A.D.

(*g.*) To a brother:— 46.

IOVIANO KARISSIMO
FECIT LAMPADIVS ET SOTERES FRA
TRES PIENTISSIMI MEROBAVDE

(*Pisauri, e coem. Rom.;* De Rossi, n. 330.)

Joviano carissimo fecit (fecerunt) *Lampadius et Soteres fratres pientissimi, Merobaude.*

"To dearest Jovianus, Lampadius and Soteres, his most affectionate brothers, have made (this), in the Consulship of Merobaudes [and Saturninus]," *i.e.* 383, A.D.

The lower portion of the stone has been broken off; it most probably had the letters ET SATVRNINO CONSS.

(*h.*) To a sister:— 47.

SVME SOROR CARMEN SOLA*tia*
TRISTA FRATRIS · QVI *sol*
VS GEMITV HEC TIBI VE*rba*
DEDIT · QVAE TEGITVR T*umu*
LO SI VIS COGNOSCERE *lect*
OR · SVBLIMES GESS*it*
SANGVINIS HAEC TIT*ulos*
MORIBVS · HEC CRI*stum*

SEMPER COMITAT*a*
SVPERSTES · QVEM *post*
FATA SIBI CREDID*it*
ESSE DVCEM ·
DEPOSITA IN PACE
$\overline{\text{CON}}$ FESTI ET *Marciani*

(*In atrio coemet. S. Laurentii in agro Verano;* De Rossi, n. 841.)

Sume soror carmen solatia trista (tristia) *fratris,*
Qui solus gemitu hec (hæc) *tibi verba dedit.*
Quæ tegitur tumulo si vis cognoscere, lector,
Sublimes gessit sanguinis hæc titulos.
Moribus hec (hæc) *Cristum* (Christum) *semper comitata su-*
Quem post fata sibi credidit esse ducem. [*perstes,*
Deposita in pace Consulatu Festi et Marciani.

"Sister, take these verses, the sad comfort of your brother, who, in lonely lamentation, has given these words to you. Reader, if you desire to know who is covered by this tomb, she bore names that told her high descent. She, when alive, always followed, in her conduct, Christ, who, she believed, would be her guide after death. Buried in peace, in the Consulship of Festus and Marcianus." *i.e.* 472, A.D.

v. 4. I have interpreted this verse as referring to such names as *Eugenia.* It is scarcely possible that it can mean *martyrdom.* There is no dated epitaph in which the deceased is called *Martyr*, or is said to have suffered such a death: and in those not dated, examples are extremely rare.

(*i.*) To a Foster-father:— 48.

PERPETVAM · SEDEM NVTRITOR POSSIDES IPSE
HIC MERITVS FINEM MAGNIS DEFVNCTE PERICLIS
HIC REQVIEM FELIX SVMIS COGENTIBVS ANNIS
HIC POSITVS PAPASANTIMIO QVI VIXIT ANNIS LXX
DEPOSITVSDOMINONOSTROARCADIOIIETFLRVFINO
VVCCSS NONAS NOBEMB

(*E vinea, via Salaria nova;* De Rossi, n. 403.)

Perpetuam sedem, nutritor, possides ipse:
Hic meritus finem magnis defuncte periclis:
Hic requiem felix sumis cogentibus annis:
Hic positus papas Antimio qui vixit annis

septuaginta. Depositus Domino Nostro Arcadio II et Flavio Rufino, Viris Clarissimis, Nonas (Nonis) *Nobembres* (Novembribus).

"You yourself, who reared (us or me), now occupy a lasting resting-place; here you have reached the end that you deserved, of a course fraught with great perils: here, in happiness, you take the repose that age compels. Here is laid Foster-father Antimio, who lived seventy years. Buried in the Consulship of our Lord Arcadius, for the second time, and Flavius Rufinus, most distinguished men, on the Nones of November," *i.e.* November 5th, 392, A.D.

The history of this epitaph is very curious and instructive. De Rossi's comment on it, in which he gives an account of the controversy that it excited, is well worth reading. It is a good specimen of the slashing style of annotation, with which Bentley has made English scholars familiar.

The stone bearing the inscription was found near Rome, in the year 1787. Antonio Paoli first published it, with an engraving and a long dissertation, *Di S. Felice papa e martire*, in which he attempted *defendere la sua santità, ed il suo pontificato*, referring FELIX, in the third verse of the epitaph, to the Pope, known as "Felix the Second." Such an attempt, of course, drew down on him the censure of men of superior learning, who knew, from unquestionable historical authority, that Felix the Second was not buried even near the place where the stone was found, and, besides, that his death occurred not in A.D. 392, the date on this stone, but in A.D. 365. *Marini published a short treatise on the subject, in which he completely refuted Paoli, and showed that the epitaph was neither of Felix the Second, nor of any other Pope, but of a foster-father *(papas)*, whose name was *Antimio*, *i.e.* PAPAS ANTIMIO. Paoli, however, was not convinced of his error, but attempted to vindicate his views in *'Lettera in difesa dell' epitaffio di S. Felice II.* Oderic and Tiraboschi then assailed him, sustaining Marini's interpretation, and Juvenati satirized him in severe hendecasyllabics. Even then Paoli clung to his mistake, and published another letter in his defence, so absurdly erroneous, that De Rossi designates it as *stuporis plenam, quam eruditorum nemo vel uno verbo refutare dignatus est.*

The controversy relative to the interpretation of the epitaph here

* This learned Epigraphist arranged the inscriptions in the *Galleria delle Lapidi* in the Vatican.

died out, but, since then, it has been revived by Dr. Maitland and by *Bishop Kip. Neither of these writers seems to have been aware of the discussion which had taken place. Maitland's observations on it are:—"The date of this Consulate is 392, in which year no bishop of Rome died. Siricius was made pope in 385, and lived to 396; yet the reference to a perpetual †*seat*, added to the title *papa sanctissimus*, strongly indicates episcopal rank. This *Papa* may have been an anti-pope, there being a schism at that time in Rome." De Rossi derides his ignorance *totius controversiæ vel lippis ac tonsoribus notæ*, and ridicules his object in citing the epitaph. There is no doubt that Maitland was unacquainted with the literary history of the inscription, and that he misread and misinterpreted the words *papas Antimio*. But De Rossi's censures are too strong, and he seems to have misunderstood Maitland's object. Maitland was not the only one, besides Paoli, who was mistaken relative to this inscription. Fea—*haud sordidus auctor*—held the same opinion, that it was the epitaph of some bishop; and Maitland was evidently not ignorant of the fact, that *papa* was the common appellation of all bishops, whether in or out of the City, for he distinctly states this, and gives in illustration the application of the term to the Bishops of Carthage and Hippo.

The author of these verses was a reader of Virgil, but does not seem to have profited by the perusal. The first line was, probably, suggested by the opening of the seventh book of the Æneid, in which the grave of Caieta—*Æneia nutrix*—is mentioned. The words *magnis defuncte periclis* are taken from *Æn.*, vi., 83. See, also, ix., 98. The verses, that are found in ancient epitaphs, present many examples of violation of the ordinary rules of syntax and prosody. "In [Greece] and Italy, as in England, the Muse of the cemetery was an 'unlettered Muse.'" See Kenrick, "Roman Sepulchral Inscriptions," p. 21.

Northcote, "The Roman Catacombs," p. 136, observes:—"It is a very singular fact, that there are actually more instances of *alumni*

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* His remarks are merely a reproduction of Maitland's.

† Maitland's reference here, seems to be to the use of *sedere* in the sense "to hold a bishopric," and we find such expressions as *sedit annos decem* denoting the time during which a person occupied the office of Bishop. This use of *sedere* is, however, not peculiar to *Episcopi*. In De Rossi, n. 879, an epitaph of a Presbyter, we find the words QVI SEDIT PBB.

among the sepulchral inscriptions of Christians, than among the infinitely more numerous sepulchral inscriptions of Pagans; showing clearly that this was an act of charity to which the early Christians were much addicted, and the *alumni*, when their foster-parents died, very properly and naturally recorded upon their tombs this act of charity, to which they were themselves so deeply indebted." I have not compared, by counting, the number of instances of such inscriptions, but I have reason to think, that the opposite opinion is true. Of all the dated Christian epitaphs of Rome, in number between 1300 and 1400, I have not noticed one of an *alumnus*, and this is the only example of a memorial to a foster-parent.

V. Those in which the Occupation or Position in Life of the Deceased is Stated.

A. *Secular.*

(*a.*) To a member of the Imperial household:— 49.

M · AVRELIO · AVGG · LIB · PROSENETI
A CVBICVLO · AVG ·
PROC · THESAVRORVM
PROC · PATRIMONI · PROC ·
MVNERVM · PROC · VINORVM
ORDINATOADIVOCOMMODO
IN KASTRENSE PATRONO PIISSIMO
LIBERTI · BENEMERENTI
SARCOPHAGVM DE SVO ·
ADORNAVERVNT ·

PROSENES RECEPTVS ADDEVM · V · NON***SSA**********NIA ·
[PRAESENTE · ET · EXTRICATO · II
REGREDIENS IN VRBE AB EXPEDITI ONIBVS SRIPSIT
[AMPELIVS LIB

(*Via Labicana;* De Rossi, n. 5.)

Marco Aurelio, Augustorum liberto, Proseneti, a cubiculo Augusti, Procuratori thesaurorum, Procuratori patrimonii, Procuratori munerum, Procuratori vinorum, ordinato a Divo Commodo in Castrense, Patrono piissimo, liberti benemerenti sarcophagum de suo adornaverunt. Prosenes receptus ad Deum quinto Nonas. . . . . Præsente et Extricato iterum. Regrediens in urbe (urbem) *ab expeditionibus scripsit Ampelius libertus.*

"To Marcus Aurelius Prosenes, freedman of the two Augusti, of the bed-chamber of Augustus, Procurator of the Treasures, Procurator of the Patrimony, Procurator of the Presents, Procurator of the Wines, appointed by the Deified Commodus to duty in the Camp, a most affectionate Patron. For him, well-deserving, his freedmen provided (this) sarcophagus, at their own cost."

"Prosenes received to God, on the fifth day before the Nones of . . . . (in the Consulship of) Præsens and Extricatus for the second time," *i.e.* . . . . 217 A.D.

"Ampelius, his freedman, returning to the city from the wars, set up this inscription."

l. 1. *Augg.* Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. l. 2. *Aug.* Commodus. l. 2. *In Kastrense. Scil. munus,* or *officium.* Henzen remarks, "= *ratio castrensis.*" l. 11. *Receptus ad Deum.* This phrase may be regarded as sufficient proof of the Christianity of either *Ampelius,* or both *Prosenes* and *Ampelius.* In Henzen's n. 7418, a Pagan *titulus,* we have the similar phrase, *spiritus inter Deos receptus,* where, also, the word *refrigerat* or *refrigeras,* so common in Christian epitaphs, is strangely used. It is remarkable that this same expression occurs in another Pagan epitaph, given by Muratori, 978, 9, with the statement: "*Romæ. In Coemeterio Callisti. Ex Boldetto.*" The commencement of the two epitaphs is identical: *D·M· in hoc tumulo jacet corpus exanimis* (exanime) *cujus spiritus inter Deos receptus est; sic enim meruit.* And in both we have, *cujus fama in eterna* (in Muratori, *æterno*) *nota est;* but the division into lines is not the same, and, besides many other differences, the name of the deceased in the former, is *M. Ulpius Maximus,* in the latter, *L. Statius Onesimus.* Henzen, n. 6344, copies the inscription to Prosenes, but without the lines given above in smaller type, and, consequently, treats the inscription as Pagan.

l. 11. V·NON. After NON some letters are defaced; before SSA there are traces like III. De Rossi suggests, with a query, [APRI]LIS, *i.e. April* 1*st.* There are examples of this notation of time, without mention of the Calends (see n. 12); but I am not aware of any instance at so early a period as 217. I am unable to offer any feasible conjecture as to the letters obliterated between SA and NIA. l. 12. *Scripsit Ampelius lib.* Thus, we have in Orelli, n. 4692: *Lib. Scripserunt.*

50.

IVLIVS FELIX VALENTINIANVS·VC·ET $\overline{sp}$
C

EX SILENTIARIO SACRI PALATII EX COM̄ ·
CONSISTORII · COM̄ · DOM̄ · QVI VIXit
ANN̄ · LXVII · M̄ENS · IIII · D · XXV D̄EP · IN PACE
FL̄ · EVTHARICO · CILLIGA · V̄C · C̄ONS

(*In Mus. Capit.*; De Rossi, n. 968.)

Julius Felix Valentinianus, Vir Clarissimus et Spectabilis, Ex Silentiario Sacri Palatii, Ex Comite Consistorii, Comes Domesticorum, qui vixit annos LXVII, menses IV, dies XXV. Depositus in pace, Flavio Eutharico Cilliga (Cillica), *Viro Clarissimo, Consule.*

"Julius Felix Valentinianus, a man of the highest distinction and consideration, ex-Silentiary of the Sacred Palace, ex-Count of the Consistory, Count of the Household Troops, who lived sixty-seven years, four months, twenty-five days. Buried, in peace, in the Consulship of Flavius Eutharic Cillica, a most distinguished man," *i.e.* 519, A.D.

l. 1. *Sp.* I have adopted De Rossi's certain restoration. Valentinian was *Spectabilis* as *Comes Domesticorum*. Other titles of honor are: V · C · = *Vir Clarissimus;* V · D · = *Vir Devotus*, or *Devotissimus;* V · I · = *Vir Illustris;* V · P · = *Vir Perfectissimus*, &c. On the application of these titles according to rank or position, see Böcking's edition of the *Notitia*, and Gothofred's edition of the Theodosian Code. It is impossible to find English adjectives that satisfactorily express these grades of titular dignity or compliment.

(*b.*) To a lawyer:— 51.

FELIX VITA VIRI FELICIOR EXITVS IPSE
CAIANI SEMPER CRESCIT PER SAECVLA NOMEN
NESCIT FAMA MORI SED SEMPER VIBIT VBIQVE
ADVENIT HOSPES ROMANVS PRINCEPS · IN VRBEM
QVI FVIT HIC PRIMVM IVRIS CONSVLTOR AMICVS
QVIESCITINPACEMDEPOSITVS DIEM QVAR
TVM NONAS AVGV
STAS FLAVIO FILIPPO
ET FLAVIO SALLEA CON
SVLIBVS PATER SABBA
TIVS FE CIT

(*?*; De Rossi, n. 101.)

Felix vita viri, felicior exitus ipse!
Caiani semper crescit per sæcula nomen.
Nescit fama mori, sed semper vibit (vivit) *ubique.*
Advenit hospes Romanus princeps in urbem,
Qui fuit hic primum juris consultor amicus.

Quiescit in pacem (pace), *depositus diem* (die) *quartum* (quarto) *nonas Augustas, Flavio Filippo* (Philippo) *et Flavio Sallea* (Salia) *Consulibus, Pater Sabbatius fecit.*

"Happy the life of the man, happier the death itself! The renown of Caianus shall ever increase throughout (all) ages. Fame knows not death, but ever lives, and everywhere. The Roman Emperor came, a stranger, to the city, whose first friend was this lawyer. He rests in peace. Buried on the fourth day before the Nones of August, in the Consulship of Flavius Philippus and Flavius Salia (*i.e.* August 2nd, 348, A.D.) His father, Sabbatius, made" (this).

l. 2. Read *crescet* for *crescit.* l. 4. Read *princeps Romanus* for *Romanus princeps,* or insert *princeps* between *advenit* and *hospes.* l. 5. Read *cui* for *qui,* and *primus* for *primum.* The Roman Emperor was Constantine the Great, and the year, which is referred to, of his coming to Rome, is 326, A.D.

(*c.*) To a præfect of the city:— 52.

IVN·BASSVS·V·C·QVI VIXIT ANNIS·XLII MEN·II IN IPSA PRAEFECTURA
[VRBI NEOFITVS IIT AD DEVM·VIII·KAL·SEPT EVSEBIO ET YPATIO·COSS
(*In cryptis Vaticanis;* De Rossi, n. 141.)

Junius Bassus, Vir Clarissimus, qui vixit annis (annos) *XLII, menses II. In ipsa præfectura urbi neofitus* (neophytus) *ivit ad Deum, VIII Kalendas Septembres, Eusebio et Ypatio* (Hypatio), *Consulibus.*

"Junius Bassus, a most distinguished man, who lived forty-two years, two months. Whilst holding the office of Præfect of the City, he, a neophyte, went to God on the 8th day before the Calends of September, in the Consulship of Eusebius and Hypatius," *i.e.* August 25th, 359, A.D.

(*d.*) To a physician:— 53.

RAPETIGAME
DICVS CIVIS
HISPANVS QVI
VIXITINPANNPM

XXVHOCPATERNI
CAITVSFECITDNMA
MAXIMOAVGII

(*E coem. Cyriacæ;* De Rossi, n. 375.)

Rapetiga, medicus, civis Hispanus, qui vixit in p(ace) *annos plus minus viginti quinque. Hoc pater Nicaitus* (Nicetius) *fecit, Domino Nostro Magno Maximo Augusto iterum.*

"Rapetiga, a physician, a citizen of Spain, who lived in peace twenty-five years, more or less. Nicetius, his father, made this, in the Consulship of our Lord Magnus Maximus Augustus, for the second time," *i.e.* 388, A.D.

(*e.*) To a baker:— 54.

HIC EST POSITVS BITALIS PISTOR ⁄NA
SHICESRSXIIOVIBICSITAN
NVSPLMINVSNXLVDEPC
SITVSINPACINATALED
OMNESSITIRETISTERT
IVMIDVSFEBBCONSVL⁄
TVMΓLV MCEN T I VV CC
CONSS

(*In coenobio S. Pauli via Ostiensi;* De Rossi, n. 495.)

Hic est positus Bitalis (Vitalis) *pistor . . . . . regionis XII, ovi* (qui) *vicsit* (vixit) *annus* (annos) *plus minus numero XLV. Depositus in paci* (pace) *natale* (natali) *Domnes* (Dominæ) *Sitiretis* (Soteridis) *tertium* (tertio) *Idus Februarias Consulatum* (Consulatu) *Flavii Vincentii* [et Fraviti], *Virorum Clarissimorum, Consulum.*

"Here has been placed Vitalis, a baker . . . . . of the twelfth District, who lived forty-five years, more or less. Buried, in peace, on the birth-day of Saint *Soteres, the third day before the Ides of February, in the Consulship of Flavius Vincentius [and Fravitus], most distinguished men, Consuls, *i.e.* February 11th, 401, A.D.

l. 1. No one has yet been able to explain the word or words formed by the letters between *pistor* and *rs* (regionis). Le Blant, *Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule*, i., 279, reads—MAGHICES; but De

* Thus, De Rossi, *Index*, p. 619; but Aringhi, i., p. 288, gives *Soter. Soter* is the name of a man; *Soteres*—otherwise *Soteris* and *Soteria* (in Jewish epitaphs, Orelli, n. 2523, Henzen, n. 6144)—is the name of a woman. Hence, in epitaph n. 46, I should prefer the translation, "Lampadius and Soteres, his most affectionate brother and sister," to the version

Rossi, p. 577, justly rejects this, observing that the *character between R and A contains two letters, and may be read either MI, or INI, or even AN. l. 2. RSXII. Ancient Rome was divided into fourteen Regions. This baker had his shop in the twelfth. Thus, in Orelli, n. 1455, we have *pistor Romaniensis ex regione XIIII.* ll. 4, 5. *Domnes. Domina*, like the Greek κυρία, = our "Mistress," was a term of respect applied to females. It is commonly applied to the same who were otherwise called "*Sanctæ.*" l. 5. *Sitiretis.* This Saint is said to have suffered martyrdom, in the Appian Road, under Diocletian and Maximian, 304, A.D. See Aringhi, i., p. 288. l. 7. *Fl. Vincenti.* As he alone is mentioned, it appears that the name of the Eastern Consul, *Fravitus*, or *Fravita*, was not at the time known in Rome; and yet the plural—VVCC CONSS—is used, as if both names had been given.

(*f.*) To a gardener:— 55.

PASCASIVS · ORTOLANV
QI IDSIVLIASCOLSDECIV̄C̄C

(*In S. Agnetis;* De Rossi, n. 1020.)

[Hic quiescit] *Pascasius ortolanu* (hortulanus), [depositus] *septimo Idus Julias, Consulatu Decii, Viri Clarissimi, Consulis.*

"[Here rests] Pascasius, a gardener, buried on the seventh day before the Ides of July, in the Consulship of Decius, a most distinguished man, Consul," *i.e.* July 9th, 529, or rather, 486, A.D.

(*g.*) To an ex-quæstor:— 56.

HIC REQVIESCINT IN PACE PRAETEXTATVS V̄Ī EX QVESTOR S̄C̄P̄ · D̄P̄ · VII · IDVS · OCTOBR · FESTO V̄C̄ · CONS

---

there given. Thus, *fratribus*, in Orelli, n. 4583; *fratrum*, in Tacitus, Ann. xii., 4; and "*Lucius et Titia fratres emancipati a patre*," in Paul., *Dig.* x., 2, 38, cited by *Forcellini, in verb.*

* This character occurs in Roman inscriptions found in Britain, *e.gr.* in a very perplexing one to the *Deæ Matres*, figured in the "Report of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, for 1861." It seems as if it might also be read NV, or MV, or NN. De Rossi, in his comment, remarks: "*Vox, quæ postremis versus primi et prioribus secundi litteris continetur, millies a me tentata est, sed irrito semper conatu.*" As this has, also, been the result of my experience, I merely state my impression, that the word is an Ethnic adjective, like *Romaniensis.*

ET FILIA EIVS PRAETEXTATA · $\overline{CF}$ · $\overline{DP}$ · XV · $\overline{KAL}$ ·
[AVG . DECIO $\overline{VC}$ $\overline{C}$

(*In S. Martini;* De Rossi, n. 844.)

Hic requiescint (requiescunt) *in pace Prætextatus, Vir Illustris, ex-quæstore Sacri Palatii, depositus VII Idus Octobres, Festo, Viro Clarissimo, Consule, et filia ejus Prætextata, Clarissima Femina, deposita XV Kalendas Augustas, Decio, Viro Clarissimo, Consule.*

"Here rest in peace, Prætextatus, an illustrious man, ex-quæstor of the Sacred Palace, buried on the seventh day before the Ides of October, in the Consulship of Festus, a most distinguished man (*i.e.* October 9th, 472, A.D.), and his daughter Prætextata, a most distinguished woman, buried on the fifteenth day before the Calends of August, in the Consulship of Decius, a most distinguished man," *i.e.* July 18th, 486, A.D.

l. 2. SCP. *Sacri Palatii, scil.* of the Emperor. See Epitaph n. 50, and *Notitia*, chap. xv. and xiv., vol. ii., ed. Böcking.

(*h.*) To a soldier:— 57.

ΕΝΘΑΔΕΤΟΝΑΓΡΗΓΟΡΟΝ
ΥΠΝΟΝΚΑΘΕΥΔΕΙΦΙΛΕ
ΕΥΓΝΩΜΟΝΙΟΣΠΡΟΤΙΚΤΟΡ
ΤΩΝΓΕΝΝΑΙΟΤΑΤΩΝ
ΑΡΙΘΜΟΥΜΑΡΤΗΣΙΩΝΠΡΟ
ΑΠΕΛΘΩΝΤΟΥΚΑΘΗΜΑΣ
ΒΙΟΥΜΗΝΙΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΔΕΚΑ
ΤΗΙΝΔΕΝΔΕΚΑΤΗΥΙΤΑ
Τ . . . ΣΦΑΒΙΟΥΜΑΓΝΟΥ
. . . . . ΤΟΥΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΡΕ
ΥΧ

(*In Museo Parisiensi;* Kirchhoff, n. 9449.)

Ἐνθάδε τὸν ἀγρήγορον ὕπνον καθεύδει, φίλε, Εὐγνωμόνιος, προτίκτορ (προτίκτωρ) τῶν γενναιοτάτων ἀριθμοῦ Μαρτησίων, προαπελθὼν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου μηνὶ Ἰουλίου δεκάτῃ, ἰνδικτιῶνι ἑνδεκάτῃ, ὑπατίας Φαβίου Μάγνου [μόνου] τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου.

"Here, friend, Eugnomonius sleeps the sleep that knows no waking, a Protector, of the detachment of the most noble Martenses, having gone before from our life on the tenth of the month of July, in the eleventh Indiction, in the Consulship of Fabius Magnus [alone], the most distinguished," *i.e.* July 10th, 518, A.D.

l. 5. ἀριθμοῦ. This is used as the Latin *numerus*. A body of

the *Martenses* is mentioned in the *Notitia*, as stationed at *Aletum*, now St. Malo.

(*i.*) To a præfect of the market:— 58.

HIC REQVIESCIT IN PACE SABINVS V̄S P̄RĒ ĀNN̄S QVI
[BISSIT ANNVS
LIIII ET DIES XXIIII D̄P XVI KAL AGVSTAS C̄ON̄S
[SYMM ET BOETIO V̄C C̄ONS̄S

(*In atrio coem. S. Pauli;* De Rossi, n. 978.)

Hic requiescit in pace, Sabinus, Vir Spectabilis, Præfectus annonaes (annonæ), *qui bissit* (vixit) *annus* (annos) *LIV, et dies XXIV. Depositus XVI Kalendas Agustas* (Augustas), *Consulatu Symmachi et Boetio* (Boetii), *Virorum Clarissimorum, Consulum.*

"Here rests in peace, Sabinus, a man of high consideration, Præfect of the Market, who lived fifty-four years, and twenty-four days. Buried on the sixteenth day before the Calends of August, in the Consulship of Symmachus and Boetius, most distinguished men, Consuls," *i.e.* July 17th, 522, A.D.

In the expansion I have corrected the formula given for the Consulship. It was, doubtless, *Consulatu Symmacho et Boetio Viris Clarissimis Consulibus.* In De Rossi's, n. 977, we have the strange mixture, *Consulatu Symmaci et Boeti Viris Consulibus.*

(*k.*) To a keeper of a public granary:— 59.

HIC REQVIESCITINPACECONSTANTINVSHOR
REARIVSQVIVISETPM·AN·XLVII DIPOSITVSESTVII·K̄A
DEC·CO N̄SFL·LAMPADIETORESTISV̄V̄·C̄C̄

(*In coenob. S. Pauli;* De Rossi, n. 1026.)

Hic requiescit in pace Constantinus horrearius, qui viset (vixit) *plus minus annos XLVII. Dipositus* (depositus) *est VII Kalendas Decembres, Consulatu Flavii Lampadii et Orestis, Virorum Clarissimorum.*

"Here rests in peace, Constantinus, a granary-keeper, who lived forty-seven years, more or less. He was buried on the seventh day before the Calends of December, in the Consulship of Flavius Lampadius and Orestes, most distinguished men," *i.e.* November 25th, 530, A.D.

I am unable (without type specially cut for the purpose) to represent the numerals after AN and before KA, as they appear in the inscription. They are given as they were read by Muratori, 421, 2.

(*l.*) To a book-keeper:— 60.

HIC REQVIESCIT IN PACE IOHANNIS VH
OLOGRAFVS PROPINE ISIDORI QVI VIX*it*
ANN · PLVS M · XLV DEP · X KALEN · IVNIA*s*
CONSVLATV VILISARI VC ·

(*In crypt. Vatic.;* De Rossi, n. 1055.)

Hic requiescit in pace, Johannis (Johannes), *Vir Honestus, olografus* (olographus) *propine* (propinæ) *Isidori, qui vixit annos plus minus XLV. Depositus X Kalendas Junias, consulatu Vilisari* (Belisarii), *Viri Clarissimi.*

"Here rests in peace, Johannes, a respectable man, the book-keeper of the tavern of Isidorus, who lived forty-five years, more or less. Buried on the tenth day before the Calends of June, in the Consulship of Belisarius, a most distinguished man," *i.e.* May 23rd, 535, A.D.

I have adopted Marini's interpretation of *Holographus*, as explained by De Rossi, but I know no ancient authority for this signification. Although there are strong objections to receiving "the Consulship of Belisarius" as marking the year 535 in an Italian inscription, yet I have not ventured to follow De Rossi, who proposes the insertion of *post* after IVNIAS, *i.e. post consulatu* (consulatum) *Vilisari VC, scil.* A.D. 536 or 537.

B. *Ecclesiastical.*

(*a.*) To a bishop:— 61.

HICREQVIES
CITSANCTAE MEMO
RIÆPATERNOSTER
REPARATVSE · P · S · QVIFE
CITINSACERDOTIVMAN
NOSVIIIIMENXIETPRE
CESSITNOSINPACE
DIEVNDECIMV · KAL
AVGPROVNC · CCCCXXX
ETSEXTA

(*Orleansville in Algiers;* Renier, n. 3701.)

Hic requiescit sanctæ memoriæ pater noster, Reparatus, episcopus, qui fecit in sacerdotium (sacerdotio), *annos IX, menses XI, et*

præcessit nos in pace, die undecimu (undecimo) *Kalendas Augustas, Provinciæ* [anno] *quadringentesimo tricesimo et sexta* (sexto).

"Here rests our father of holy memory, Reparatus, the Bishop, who passed in his priesthood nine years, eleven months; and went before us, in peace, on the eleventh day before the Calends of August, in the 436th year of the Province," *i.e.* July 22nd, 475, A.D.

l. 1. *Sacerdotium.* The bishops in Africa were sometimes called *Sacerdotes.* See Renier, n. 3704. The æra of the Province dated from 40, A.D., the year in which Mauretania was reduced. See Henzen, n. 5337; Renier, *Revue Arch.*, xi. 443, xv. 565; Mommsen, *Epigraphische Analekten*, n. 20, in *Berichte der phil. Hist.*, 1852, p. 313.

(*b.*) To a presbyter:— 62.

PRAESBYTER HIC SITVS EST CELERINVS NOMINE DIC[*tus*]
CORPOREOS RVMPENS NEXVS QVI GAVDET IN ASTRIS
DEP VIIII KAL IVN FL SYAGRIO ET EVCERIO

(*In S. Agnetis via Nomentana;* De Rossi, n. 303.)

Presbyter hic situs est Celerinus nomine dictus,
Corporeos rumpens nexus qui gaudet in astris.
Depositus IX Kalendas Junias, Flavio Syagrio et Eucerio.

"Here has been laid a Presbyter, called by the name Celerinus, who, breaking the bonds of the body, rejoices in the stars (in heaven). Buried on the ninth day before the Calends of June, in the Consulship of Syagrius and Eucherius," *i.e.* May 24th, A.D. 381.

In Kirchhoff's n. 9258, found at Ancyra, in Galatia, we have an example of a presbyter pursuing a secular occupation:—

ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ Θεόδωρος πρεσβύτερος τῶν ἁγίον (ἁγίων) κὲ (καὶ) ἀργυροκόπος, *i.e.* "the servant of God, Theodorus, a presbyter (of the church) of the Saints (All Saints?), and a silversmith."

(*c.*) To the wife of a presbyter:— 63.

GAVDENTIVS · PRESB · SIBI
ET CONIVGI SVAE SEVERAE CASTAE HAC SANC[*tissimæ*]
FEMINAE QVAE VIXIT ANN · XLII · M · III · D · X
DEP III · NON · APRIL · TIMASIO ET PROMOTO

(*In coem. S. Pauli via Ostiensi;* De Rossi, n. 376.)

Gaudentius Presbyter sibi et conjugi suæ Severæ, castæ hac (ac) *sanctissimæ feminæ, quæ vixit annos XLII, menses III, dies X. Deposita IV Nonas Apriles, Timasio et Promoto.*

"Gaudentius, a Presbyter, for himself, and his wife Severa, a chaste and most holy woman, who lived forty-two years, three months, ten days. Buried on the fourth day before the Nones of April, in the Consulship of Timasius and Promotus," *i.e.* April 2nd, A.D. 389.

(*d.*) To a deacon:— 64.

DEPS · FELIX DIAC · V · IDVS · MARTIAS ·
THEODOSIO · XV · ET · PLD · VALENTINIANO IIII
AA · VV · CC · CON · SS

(*In crypt. basil. Vaticanæ;* De Rossi, n. 684.)

Depositus Felix Diaconus, V Idus Martias, Theodosio XV et Placido Valentiniano IV, Augustis, Viris Clarissimis, Consulibus.

"Felix, a Deacon, was buried on the fifth day before the Ides of March, in the Consulship of Theodosius for the fifteenth time, and Placidus Valentinianus for the fourth time, Augusti, most distinguished men," *i.e.* March 11th, A.D. 435.

(*e.*) To a deacon's wife and children:— 65.

LEVITAE CONIVNX PETRONIA FORMA PVDORIS · HIS MEA DEPONENS SEDIBVS
[OSSA LOCO
PARCITE VOS LACRIMIS DVLCES CVM CONIVGE NATAE · VIVENTEMQVE DEO CRE-
[DITE FLERE NEFAS
DP · IN PACE III · NON OCTOB FESTO VC CONSS
HIC REQVIESCIT IN PACE PAVLA CLF · DVLCIS BENIGNA GRATIOSA FILIASS
DP VII KAL SEPT . . . . Γ NANTO VC CONSS
HIC REQVIESCIT DVLCISSIMVS PVER GORDIANVS FILIVS SS
DP · ID SEPT · SYMMACHO VC CONSS
HIC REQVIESCIT AEMILIANA SAC · VG · DPV · ID · DEC · PROBINO VC · CONSS ·

(*In S. Pauli;* De Rossi, n. 843.)

Levitæ conjunx Petronia forma pudoris—His mea deponens sedi-
[bus ossa loco.
Parcite vos lacrimis dulces cum conjuge natæ—Viventemque Deo
[credite flere nefas.
Deposita in pace tertio Nonas Octobres, Festo, Viro Clarissimo,
[Consule.
Hic requiescit in pace Paula clarissima fœmina dulcis benigna gra-
[tiosa filia supra scriptæ.
Deposita septimo Kalendas Septembres, Venantio, Viro Clarissimo,
[Consule.

Hic requiescit dulcissimus puer Gordianus filius supra scriptæ. Depositus Idibus Septembribus, Symmacho, Viro Clarissimo, Consule. Hic requiescit Æmiliana Sacra Virgo. Deposita quinto Idus De-
[cembres, Probino, Viro Clarissimo, Consule.

"I, Petronia, the wife of a Deacon, the type of modesty, lay down my bones in this resting-place. Refrain from tears, my sweet daughters and husband, and believe that it is forbidden to weep for one who lives in God. Buried, in peace, on the third day before the Nones of October (*i.e.* October 5th), in the Consulship of Festus, a most distinguished man, *i.e.* 472, A.D. Here rests in peace, Paula, a most distinguished woman, the sweet, kind, gracious daughter of the above mentioned; buried on the seventh day before the Calends of September (*i.e.* August 26th), in the Consulship of Venantius, a most distinguished man, *i.e.* 484, A.D. Here rests a very sweet boy, Gordianus, son of the above mentioned; buried on the Ides of September (*i.e.* September 13th), in the Consulship of Symmachus, a most distinguished man, *i.e.* 485, A.D. Here rests Æmiliana, a sacred virgin; buried on the fifth day before the Ides of December (*i.e.* December 9th), in the Consulship of Probinus, a most distinguished man," *i.e.* 489, A.D.

l. 1. *Levitæ.* This term is used for *Diaconus,* as the latter is unsuitable for hexameters. The difficulty is got over sometimes by syncope, *scil. Diacnus,* as by *Venantius;* sometimes by using *Zaconus,* for *Diaconus.* I have regarded *Petronia* as supposed to speak from the beginning. Others will, perhaps, prefer taking the first verse as expressed by the author of the epitaph. De Rossi's comment is well worth reading. It contains a most ingenious and conclusive argument, that Gregory the Great was a descendant of the persons named in this epitaph.

(*f.*) To a sub-deacon:— 66.

HIC QVIESCET APPIANVS SVBDIACONVS QVI VIXIT
[ANNVS
XXXII DIES XXVIIII D III IDVS APRICON POSTV-
[MIANI VC

(*In basil. S. Alexandri via Nomentana;* De Rossi, n. 743.)

Hic quiescet (quiescit) *Appianus, Subdiaconus, qui vixit annus* (annos) *XXXII, dies XXVIIII. Depositus tertio Idus Apriles, Consulatu Postumiani, Viri Clarissimi.*

"Here rests Appianus, a Sub-deacon, who lived thirty-two years, twenty-nine days. Buried on the third day before the Ides of April, in the Consulship of Postumianus, a most distinguished man," *i.e.* April 11th, 448, A.D.

67.

LOCVS MARCELLI SVBD·REG·SEXTE CONCESSVM SIBI [ET POS
TERIS EIVS A BEATISSIMO PAPA IOANNE
QVI VIXIT ANN·PLM·LXVIII DEP PC BASILI VC ANN
IND·XI·VNDECIMV KAL IANVARIAS [XXII

(*In crypt. basil. Vaticanæ;* De Rossi, n. 1096.)

Locus Marcelli, Subdiaconi Regionis sexte (sextæ), *concessum* (concessus) *sibi et posteris ejus a beatissimo Papa Joanne, qui vixit annos plus minus LXVIII. Depositus post consulatum Basilii, Viri Clarissimi, anno XXII, Indictione XI, undecimu* (undecimo) *Kalendas Januarias.*

"The place of Marcellus, a Sub-deacon of the Sixth District, conceded to him, and to his posterity, by the most blessed Father John, who lived sixty-eight years, more or less. Buried in the twenty-second year after the Consulship of Basilius, a most distinguished man (*i.e.* 563, A.D.), in the eleventh Indiction, on the eleventh day before the Calends of January," *i.e.* December 22nd.

l. 1. *Regionis sextæ.* Pagan Rome was divided, as I have mentioned in the notes on epitaph 54, into fourteen regions, or districts. The ecclesiastical division was into seven.

(*g.*) To an acolyte:— 68.

. VS ACOLVT*us*
N CONSS·HO*norio.*

(*In S. Pauli;* De Rossi, n. 631)

. . . *us Acolutus* . . . . . *n Consulibus Honorio et* . . . . .

". . . us, an Acolyte, ... n, in the Consulship of Honorius and . . . . . ," *i.e.* 422, or 418, or 417, or 415, or 412, or 409, or 407, or 398, or 386, A.D.

This is the only notice of an Acolyte that I have observed in a *Roman dated epitaph. As the inscription is very defective, in consequence of the fracture of the stone, I subjoin another, but without the year:—

* In Mommsen's *Inscrip. Neapol.*, n. 1305, we have one, found at Æclanum, to *Murrasius Acoletus* (*sic*) of the date 529, A.D.

ACE ABVNDANTIVS ACOL·
REG·QVARTE TT VESTINE QVI VIXIT ANN·XXX
DEP·INP·D NAT·SCI·MARCI MENSE SE OCT·IND XII

(*In S. Agnetis via Nomentana;* De Rossi, n. 1185.)

[Hic requiescit in p]*ace, Abundantius, Acolutus Regionis quarte* (quartæ), *Tituli Vestine* (Vestinæ), *qui vixit annos XXX. Depositus in pace die natali Sancti Marci mense Octobri, Indictione XII.*

"Here rests in peace, Abundantius, an Acolyte of the Fourth District, of the parish-church of Vestina, who lived thirty-years. Buried, in peace, on the birth-day of Saint Mark, in the month of October, in the twefth Indiction."

l. 2. *Regionis quartæ.* See note on epitaph n. 67. *Tituli Vestinæ.* On this meaning of *Titulus,* see Du Cange, *in verb.* l. 3. *Die natali Sci Marci.* This Saint Mark is the Pope of that name, who succeeded Saint Sylvester, in 336, A.D. SE. These letters were repeated in mistake by the stone-cutter. Reinesius assigns 414, A.D., as the date of this inscription, but there is no ground for fixing even the century. Jacuti places it in the fourth; but De Rossi's suggestion, that it was of the sixth or seventh, is much more probable. This inscription, is, at present, to be seen in the portico of the Basilica of St. Mark; it is, however, not the original, for that is not extant, but a modern copy on marble.

(*h.*) To an exorcist:— 69.

HIC·REQVIESCIT·IN
SOMNO·PACIS·CAELIVS
IVHANNIS·EXHORCISTA
QVI·VIXIT ANNS·PLS·MS·γ
ΔEPOSITIO·EIVS·CII·IDS
ΔECEMBRES·FLS·FELICE·V·C
CONSVLE

(*Æclani;* Mommsen, I. N., 1293.)

Hic requiescit in somno pacis Cælius Juhannis (Johannes), *exhorcista* (exorcista), *qui vixit annos plus minus γ. Depositio ejus VIII Idus Decembres, Flavius* (Flavio) *Felice, Viro Clarissimo, Consule.*

"Here rests, in the sleep of peace, Cælius John, an exorcist, who lived . . . . . years, more or less. His burial took place on the eighth day before the Ides of December, in the Consulship of Flavius Felix, a most distinguished man," *i.e.* December 6th, 511, A.D.

l. 4. Mommsen remarks: "*Guarini vidit et* 4γ *explicavit XX.*" l. 5. I have taken the character before II for C = Ϛ = 6. On the year, see De Rossi, p. 425.

(*i.*) To a reader:— 70.

(See Plate III, 2.)

(*E coem. Callisti et Prætextati;* De Rossi, n. 48.)

Equitius Heraclius, qui fuit in sæculum (sæculo) *annos XIX, menses VII, dies XX, lector regionis secundæ.* [Parentes] *fecerun*(t) *sibi et filio suo benemerenti in pace. Deces*(s)*it VII Irus* (Idus) *Februarias, Urso et Polemio Consulibus.*

"Equitius Heraclius, who was in this world nineteen years, seven months, twenty days, a Reader of the Second District. [His parents] made (this) for themselves, and their well-deserving son, in peace. He departed on the seventh day before the Ides of February, in the Consulship of Ursus and Polemius," *i.e.* February 7th, 338, A.D.

71.

HIC REQVIESCIT IN SoMNo
PACIS CAELIVS LAVRENTIVS
LECTOR SANCTAE ECCLESIAE
AECLANENSIS QVI VIXIT
ANNoS PL M·XLVIII DEPoSITIo
EIVS DIE VII IDVS MAIAS FLAVIS
ASTERIo ET PRAESIDIo VV CC CoN

(*E crypt. Æclanis;* Mommsen, I. N., 1299.)

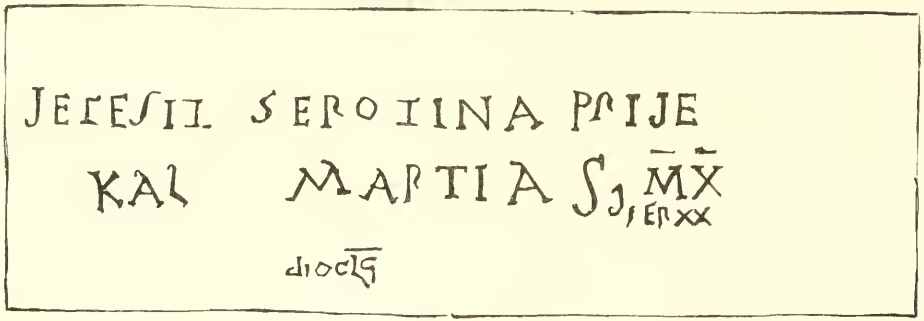
Hic requiescit in somno pacis Cælius Laurentius, lector sanctæ ecclesiæ Æclanensis, qui vixit annos plus minus XLVIII. Depositio ejus die VII Idus Maias, Flaviis Asterio et Præsidio, Viris Clarissimis, Consulibus.

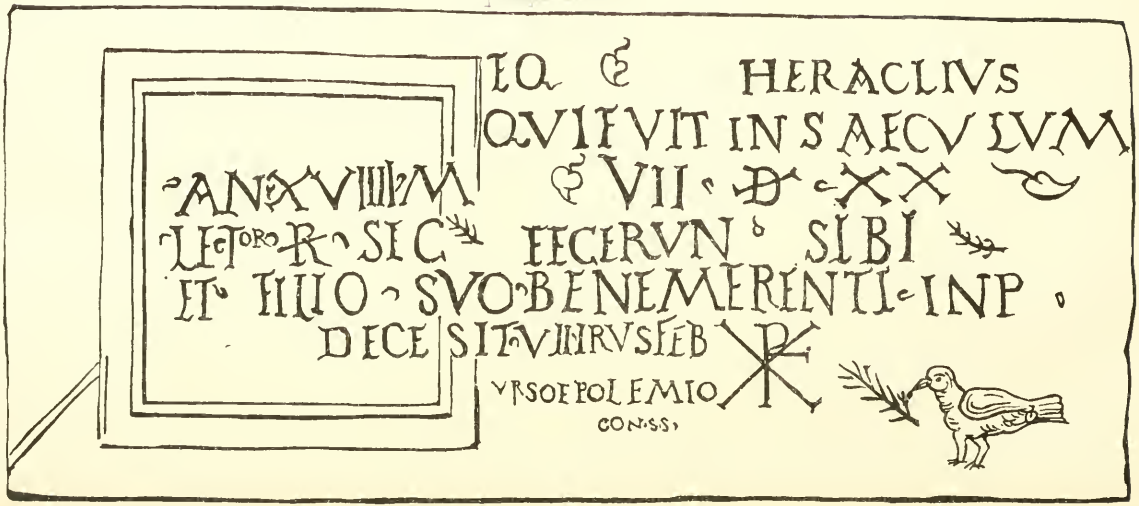
"Here rests, in the sleep of peace, Cælius Laurentius, a Reader of the holy church of Æclanum, who lived forty-eight years, more or less. His burial (took place) on the seventh day before the Ides of May, in the Consulship of Flavius Asterius and Flavius Præsidius, most distinguished men," *i.e.* May 9th, 494, A.D.

(*k.*) To a custodian:— 72.

*lo*C DECI·CVBICVLARI·HVI*us basilicæ*
*hic q*VIESCIT CARO MEA NO*vissimo vero die*
per $\overline{\text{XPM}}$ CREDO RESVSC*itabitur a mortuis*
dep·XV KAL·IVN·ET ITER·P*c*·(basili v·c?)

(*In S. Pauli;* De Rossi, n. 1087.)





W.C. Chewett & Co. Lith. Toronto.

Locus Decii cubicularii hujus basilicæ. Hic quiescit caro mea; novissimo vero die per Christum credo resuscitabitur a mortuis. Depositus XV Kalendas Junias et iterum post consulatum Basilii, Viri Clarissimi.

"The place of Decius, Custodian of this Basilica. Here rests my flesh, but, at the last day, through Christ, I believe it will be raised from the dead. Buried on the fifteenth day before the Calends of June, in the third year after the Consulship of Basilius, a most distinguished man," *i.e.* 544, A.D.

In the text, the letters in Italics are given according to De Rossi's restoration.

(*l.*) To a deaconess:— 73.

HIC IN PACE REQVIESCIT B·M
THEODORA DIACONISSA QVAE
VIXIT IN SECVLO ANNOS PL·MIN
XLVIII·D·XI·KAL·AVG·V·P·C·
PAVLINI IVN̄·V·C·IND·II

(*Ticini in Sanctissimæ Trinitatis;* Muratori, 424, 6.)

Hic in pace requiescit bonæ memoriæ Theodora Diaconissa quæ vixit in seculo (sæculo) *annos plus minus XLVIII. Deposita XI Kalendas Augustas, quinto post consulatum Paulini Junioris, Viri Clarissimi, Indictione secunda.*

"Here rests in peace, Theodora, a Deaconess, of good repute, who lived in this world forty-eight years, more or less. Buried on the eleventh day before the Calends of August, in the fifth year after the Consulship of Paulinus Junior, a most distinguished man, in the second Indiction," *i.e.* July 22nd, 539, A.D.

l. 1. *Bonæ memoriæ.* Literally, "of good memory," *i.e.* worthy to be remembered for her virtues.

The duties discharged by females among the early Christians are noticed by heathen writers. Thus, Pliny, *Epist.* x., 96, says:— *necessarium credidi ex duabus ancillis, quæ ministræ dicebantur, quid esset veri et per tormenta quærere;* and Lucian, *De morte Peregrini,* 12:—ἔωθεν μὲν εὐθὺς ἦν ὁρᾶν παρὰ τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ περιμένοντα γρᾴδια χήρας τινὰς καὶ παιδία ὀρφανὰ κ. τ. λ.

(*m.*) To a sacred virgin:— 74.

PRIEIVNPAVSA
BETPRAETIOSA

ANNORVMPVLLA
VIRGOXIITANTVM
ANCILLADEIETXPI
FL · VINCENTIOET
FRAVITOVC · COS̄S

(*In coem. Callisti;* De Rossi, n. 497.)

Prie (pridie) [Kal.] *Junias pausabet* (pausavit) *Prætiosa annorum pulla* (puella) *virgo XII tantum, ancilla Dei et Christi, Flavio Vincentio et Fravito, Viris Clarissimis, Consulibus.*

"On the day before the Calends of June, Prætiosa went to her rest, a young maiden of only twelve years of age, a hand-maid of God and of Christ, in the Consulship of Flavius Vincentius and Fravitus, most distinguished men," *i.e.* May 31st, 401, A.D.

75.

HIC QVIESCIT GAVDIOSA C̄F̄ ANCILLA DEI QVAE VIXIT ANNVS XL ET MEN · V · DEP · X · KAL · OCTOB · CALLEPIO V̄C̄ CON*f*

(*In S. Pauli;* De Rossi, n. 739.)

Hic quiescit Gaudiosa, Clarissima Femina, ancilla Dei, quæ vixit annus (annos) *XL et menses V. Deposita X Kalendas Octobres, Callepio, Viro Clarissimo, Consule.*

"Here rests Gaudiosa, a most distinguished woman, a hand-maid of God, who lived forty years, and five months. Buried on the tenth day before the Calends of October, in the Consulship of Callepius, a most distinguished man," *i.e.* September 22nd, 447, A.D.

VI. THOSE IN WHICH THERE IS MENTION, OF OR REFERENCE TO THE PLACE OF BURIAL.

(*a.*) *Locus factus :*— 76.

LOCVSBASILEONIS
SEBIBOFECIT
XENEBENEMEREN
TIINPACE·DPRID
NONASNOVEMB
CONSS·HONORI
AVG·VII·ETTHODO
SIITER·AVGG

(*Ad S. Laurentii in agro Verano;* De Rossi, n. 576.)

Locus Basileonis, se bibo (se vivo, vivus) *fecit. Xene* (*Xenæ*) *benemerenti in pace. Deposita, pridie Nonas Novembres, Consulatu Honorii Augusti VII et Thodosi* (Theodosii) *iterum Augustorum.*

"The place of Basileo. He when alive made it. To Xene well-deserving in peace. Buried on the day before the Nones of November in the Consulship of Honorius Augustus, for the seventh time, and Theodosius for the second time, the two Augusti," *i. e.* November 4th, 407 A. D.

l. 2. *se bibo.* In Pagan epitaphs such forms are found as *se vivo, se vivus, se vivis, me vivus. Fecit.* This word is used in various connexions. In n. 31, I have noticed its use with *cum* in the sense "spend." We find it, also, with *fatum, scil. fatum fecit* = died; and with *titulus, scil. titulum fecit* = "made the inscription" or "caused the inscription to be made;" also with *locus, scil. locum fecit*="made the place of burial" or "caused the place to be made." F. C. = *faciundum curavit*, so common in Heathen epitaphs, is very rare in Christian. In both cases, I suspect, the place of burial was, sometimes, actually made by the person himself. Thus in Henzen's n. 6394 — *communi labore sibi fecerunt.* l. 3. *Xene.* I have regarded this name as Greek, although I do not recollect having ever met with an example of it. *Xenis* occurs, and also *Xinna*, which Reinesius strangely believed to stand for *Cinna.*

This stone is remarkable as presenting the most ancient example of the representation of the cross in dated epitaphs. This symbol of Christianity, so common in inscriptions from the latter part of the fifth century, does not appear in any one of those of the first four centuries. The monogrammatic cross, as it is called, was used before this, not however as early as 209, as Zannoni inferred from an inscription given by Boldetti, p. 83. There is, certainly, a monogrammatic cross in that epitaph, but the date is 456, as is evident from the words $\overline{\text{DN}}$ AVITI, *i. e. Domini Nostri Aviti scil.* the emperor of that name. Boldetti, who was not aware of the Consulship of *Avitus Augustus*, interpreted the words as referring to *Avitus*, Consul in 209. The same careless investigator, p. 351, introduced a new fashion of cross on the authority of a stone that he found in the Catacomb of St. Agnes. This he not only figured, but described as a decussated cross transfixed with a spear, whilst it is really no more than an imperfect Constantinian monogram. His mistake led to serious waste of time and

trouble, for some learned men, as De Rossi remarks, *arcanam significationem inani labore investigarunt.* See Cavedoni, *Bull dell'. Ist.* 1843, p. 152. Aringhi, vol. ii. pp. 377–380, furnishes another example of the result of extravagant symbolism. More than four columns of his work are devoted to the explanation of certain figures, that he calls representations of the heart, in the inscriptions found in the Catacombs, and the subject is illustrated by various quotations from the Holy Scriptures, the Fathers, and Greek and Latin heathen authors. These figures, however, on which so much learning is wasted, are in reality nothing more than leaf-points, or leaf-decorations, that are commonly found in both Christian and Pagan inscriptions. See examples in Plate iii. 2. Nor was this ridiculous mistake limited to Aringhi. Boldoni suggested that the figure—unquestionably a leaf with a stem—signified *dolorem cordi intimum,* and Grasser believed that it was the representation *cordis spina transfixi,* and meant *cordolium!*

The Constantinian monogram is, as might be expected, of frequent occurrence on Christian sepulchral stones, but a great object of search relative to this symbol has been to find an example before the year 312 A. D. It was believed that one was found on a stone discovered by Boldetti, of the date 291 A. D., but De Rossi, n. 17, has, I think, correctly regarded this figure as merely an ornamental point. He himself, however, gives an example (n. 26), which may be, but cannot certainly be proved to be, of the date 298 A.D. The *earliest that I have noticed is of the date 331 A. D.

(*b*) *Locus emptus* :— 77.

COSTATINOS · EMIS
SE IANVARIVM · ET · BRI
TIAM LOCVM ANTE DO
MNA EMER ITA AEOSSO
RIBVS BVRDONE ETMICI
NVM ET MVSCO RVTIONE AVRISOLI
O VM VN SEMES · CONS · D · D · N · N · THAE
ODOSIO · ET · VALENTINIANO · $\overline{II}$ ·

(*In coenobio S. Pauli;* De Rossi, n. 653.)

* I do not take into account the use of crosses and monograms before Christianity, the meaning of which was of course different from the Christian signification. Examples of the gammadion occur on Roman altars found in Britain.

Co(n)stat nos emisse, Januarium et Britium, locum ante domna (dominam) *Emerita* (Emeritam), *a eossoribus* (fossoribus) *Burdone et Micinum* (Micino) *et Musco, ratione auri solidum* (solidi) *unum* (unius) *semessem* (semissis), *Consulibus Dominis Nostris Theodosio et Valentiniano iterum.*

"It is unquestionable that we Januarius and Britia bought a place in front of (the sepulchre of) Lady Emerita from the diggers Burdo and Micinus and Muscus for the consideration of one solidus of gold and a half in the Consulship of our Lords Theodosius and Valentinian for the 2nd time," *i. e.* 426 A. D.

The formula *constat nos emisse* is not rare in monuments of this age, whence it appears that the line between *costat* and *nos* is merely a mark of punctuation. The sepulchre of *Saint Emerita* was in the cemetery of Commodilla, behind the basilica of St. Paul.

She and Digna are said to have suffered death at Rome, under Valerian and Gallienus.

The *solidus* was originally called the *aureus*. It had different values at different periods. From the time of Constantine there were 72 (OB) coined to the pound of gold. The *semissis* and *tremissis* were coins respectively ½ and ⅓ of the *solidus*. Northcote, "Roman Catacombs," p. 28, notices this inscription, and remarks, "A solidus and a half the price paid for a single [?] grave was a sum equivalent to about eighteen shillings [sterling] of our own coin."

(*c*) *Locus *donatus* :— 78.

HIC REQVIESCIT IN PACE AMEN . . . . . .
. . . SQVI FECIT · CVM OXVRE ANN . . . *dep*
in LOCVM QVEM DONAVIT DOMINVS PAPA
HORMISDA POSSEDATVR LOCS EVM NE QVIS
MREMOBAT DEFVNCTVS EST N̄ON NOVEMBRIS
FL· SYMMACO ET VOETIO V̄V̄ C̄C̄.

(*In S. Martini in montibus ;* De Rossi, n. 980.)

Hic requiescit in pace Amen ———— *s, qui fecit cum oxure* (uxore) *annos* ——— [Depositus] *in locum* (loco) *quem donavit Dominus Papa Hormisda. Possedatur* (possideatur) *locus ; eum ne quis unquam remobat* (removeat). *Defunctus est, Nonas* (Nonis) *Novembris* (Novembres, Novembribus), *Flavio Symmaco* (Symmacho) *et Voetio* (Boetio), *Viris Clarissimis.*

* For *locus concessus* see Epitaph 67.

"Here rests in peace Amen ———— s who passed with his wife ——— years. Buried in the place which the Lord Bishop Hormisda gave (to him). Let the place be held in possession; let no one ever remove it (or him). He died on the Nones of November, in the Consulship of Flavius Symmachus and Boetius, most distinguished men," *i. e.* November 5th, 522 A. D.

(*d*) *Locus bisomus* :— 79.

PETRONIVS IN PACE XVII· KALEN*das* . . . . . .
NIS QVI VIXIT ANNVS LXVI · CONSVLAT*v olybrio et*
PROBINO $\overline{VV}$ $\overline{CC}$ · HIC REQVIESCIT IN P*ace* . . . *quæ*
SEBIBA FECIT BISOMVS VACAT.

Petronius in pace, XVII Calendas ———— *nis qui vixit annus* (annos) *LXVI, Consulatu Olybrio* (Olybrii) *et Probino* (Probini) *Viris Clarissimis* (Virorum Clarissimorum). *Hic requiescit in pace* —— *quæ se biba* (se viva) *fecit. Bisomus vacat.*

"Petronius in peace on the seventeenth day before the Calends of ———, who lived 66 years, in the Consulship of Olybrius and Probinus, most distinguished men, *i. e.* 395 A. D. Here rests in peace ——— who in her life time made this. Space for two bodies is unoccupied."

l. 2. *nis.* The beginning of the word, of which this is the ending, was in the preceding line. *Consulatu Olybrio.* See note on epitaph 58. **Bisomus vacat.* Was this an intimation that it was for sale? I have not seen Ratti's comment on this inscription, which was published in *Atti della pont. accad. d'arch.*, but De Rossi's notice of it is very unfavorable. He says that his observations show nothing but *incredibilem ejus in re epigraphica inscitiam et summam judicii levitatem.*

(*e*) *Locus trisomus* :— 80.

CALEVIVSBENDIDITAVINTRISOMVVBIPOSITIERANTVIN
[IETCALVILIVSET
LVCIVSINPA COS · STIL

(*E coemeterio SS. Quarti et Quinti;* De Rossi, n. 489.)

Calevius vendidit Avin (Avinio) *trisomu* (trisomum), *ubi positi erant vini* (bini) *et Calvilius et Lucius in pace, Consulatu Stilichonis.*

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* I have given this epitaph in illustration of *locus bisomus*, chiefly on account of the words *bisomus vacat;* but the *locus* seems to have been *quadrisomus*, space for two bodies being unoccupied.

"Calevius sold to Avinius a place for three bodies, where both Calvilius and Lucius had (already) been placed in peace, in the Consulship of Stilicho," *i. e.* 400 A. D.

The stone that bears this inscription is remarkable on account of the symbols that are cut on it, *viz.*, the monogram, the balance, the fish, the candelabrum with seven lights, the house, and the mummy in a receptacle approached by steps. Of the monogram and the fish I have already spoken. The candelabrum with seven lights, or the seven-branched candlestick, is frequently represented on the grave-stones of Jews, and was adopted from them by Christians, with, perhaps, a different meaning. The balance may have been derived from the notion of Psychostasy, which was Eastern in its origin, and to which the weighing of the Fates of Achilles and Hector in the Iliad is analogous. With it may be compared the expression used relative to Belshazzar in Daniel, v. 27. Or does the symbol merely indicate the just dealing of the deceased?

The house may have been used as indicative of the last dwelling-place, and the mummy certainly represents Lazarus and is symbolical of the resurrection. De Rossi refers to the discussion of these symbols by Mamachi, *Orig. ch.* iii., Munter, *Sinnbilder*, p. 57, Didron, *Hist. de Dieu*, p. 339, Raoul Rochette, *Mem. de l'Acad. des inscr.* xiii. 244, and by himself in *Spicil. Solesm.* iii. p. 549. Aringhi, ii. p. 357, figures the stone and illustrates the meaning as usual, by citations of all kinds from the authors of the Old and of the New Testament, from Origen, Irenæus, Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, and Gregory. And yet in this, as in other collections of quotations in Aringhi's work, the result, so far as definiteness of explanation is concerned, is very unsatisfactory.

(*f*) *Locus quadrisomus* :— 81.

FL · TATIANO ET QVINTO
AVR · SVMMACOVORIS
CI RISSIMIS EGOZITA
LOCVM QVADRIC
SOMV IN BSILIC
ALVA EMI

(*E basilica supra coem. Domitillæ*; De Rossi, n. 395.)

Fl. Tatiano et Quinto Aur. Summaco (Symmacho), *Viris Clarissimis, ego Zita locum quadrisomum in basilica salva emi.*

"In the Consulship of Flavius Tatianus and Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, most distinguished men (*i. e.* 391 A. D.) I, Zita, whilst alive, bought a place for four bodies in the Basilica."

(*g*) *Μνημεῖον*:— 82.

Ἐκτίσθη τὸ μνημεῖον τοῦ μακαρίου Στεφάνου ἀπὸ Ἀπαμείας [?] *ἐν μηνὶ Ἀπελλαίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος ζ̄ τοῦ ἔτους υὸη̄.*

(*Schmurrin in Syria;* Kirchhoff, n. 9146.)

"This monument of the blessed Stephen from Apamea was erected in the month Apellæus, in the 7th Indiction, in the year 438," of the epoch of the *Bostreni* (which counts from 105 A. D.)=December 544, A. D.

I have given only the expansion, as I am unable to present a copy of the original without type cut for the purpose. Other terms applied to the tomb are *μνῆμα, τόπος, θήκη, σωματοθήκη, ἡρωεῖον, παραστατικὸν, μνῆμα, χαμοσόριον, τύμβος, κοιμητήριον, οἶκος αἰώνιος.*

(*h*) *In Basilica*:— 83.

Vict OR IN PACE FILIVS EPISCOPI VICXORIS
Civit ATIS VCRESIVM VIXIT ANNIS XXXQIII
Mensibus VII DECES D XI KAL · NOVEBR · CONSVLATV
d. n. honor IVI AVG DEPOSITVS IN BASILICA SANCTO
rum NASARI ET NABORIS SECVNDV ARCV IVXTA
f ENESTRA

(*In vico quodam ad S. Mariæ supra Minervam;* De Rossi, n. 534.)

Victor in pace, filius Episcopi Vicxoris (Victoris) *civitatis Ucresium. Vixit annis XXXIX mensibus VII. Decessit die XI Kalendas Novembres, Consulatu Domini Nostri Honorii sextum Augusti. Depositus in Basilica Sanctorum Nasarii et Naboris secundo arcu juxta fenestram.*

"Victor, in peace, son of Bishop Victor of the City of the Ucrenses. He lived 39 years 7 months. He departed on the 11th day before the Calends of November, in the Consulship of our Lord Honorius, for the sixth time, Augustus (*i. e.* October 22nd, 404 A. D.) Buried in the Basilica of Saints Nasarius and Nabor, in the second arch near the window."

The Italics in the text are De Rossi's restorations. I have followed him in substituting Ϙ for C in the 2d line, and in reading I for T, before VI, in the 4th line.

l. 1. *Episcopi Vicxoris* (Victoris). This is the usual order—not *Victoris Episcopi Civitatis Ucresium:* thus also *Papa Hormisda, Papa Ioanne.* See De Rossi, n. 989.

In an inscription, found at Narbonne, (Mai, p. 83, Gruter, 1059, 1) of the year 445 A. D.—*Valentiniano Aug. vi.*—we have—

RVSTICVS · EP̄VS̄ · EP̄I · BONOSI · FILIVS · EP̄I · ARATORIS · [DE · SORORE·
NEPVS · EP̄I · VENERI · SOC̄I · IN · MONASTERIO COMPRB · [ECCLE · MASSILIEN, &c.

Rusticus episcopus, episcopi Bonosi filius, episcopi Aratoris de sorore nepos, episcopi Venerii socius in Monasterio, compresbyter ecclesiæ Massiliensis.

l. 2. *Ucresium.* De Rossi regards this as used for *Urcensium* or *Urgensium.* There was a town called *Urgi*, in Numidia, and another called *Urci* in proconsular Africa. Each of these had its own Bishop in the fourth or fifth century.

Nasarius (or Nazarius) and Nabor, soldiers, are said to have been beheaded at Rome, in the persecution of Diocletian and Maximian.

(*i*) *Sepulcrum* :— 84.

VOSPER CRISTVM
NEMIHIABALIQVOVIO
LENTIAMFIATETNESEPVL
CRVMMEVMVIOLETVR
DEPDIEVIIIDAVGVSTAS
ADELFIO V̄C̄ CONSS

(*In Mus. Lat.*; De Rossi, n. 752.)

[Adjuro] *vos per Cristum* (Christum), *ne mihi ab aliquo violentiam* (violentia), *fiat et ne sepulcrum meum violetur. Depositus, die VII Idus Augustas, Adelfio* (Adelphio), *Viro Clarissimo, Consule.*

"I conjure you by Christ that no violence may be offered to me by any one, and that my sepulchre may not be violated. Buried on the seventh day before the Ides of August, in the Consulship of Adelphius, a most distinguished man," *i. e.* August 7th, 451 A. D.

Such *prayers and injunctions to respect the sanctity of the sepulchre are found in Pagan epitaphs: in both also the stronger form of

* In Henzen's n. 6371 there is a similar prayer. I subjoin the inscription, as it is in some respects peculiar:—*Alexander Augg. ser. fecit se bivo Marco filio dulcisimo, caputafricesi, qui deputabatur inter bestitores* (vestitores) *qui vixit annis XVIII mensibu VIII diebu V. Peto a bobis* (vobis) *fratres boni per unum Deum ne quis vii titelo molestet post mortem.* See Orelli, n. 2685.

imprecations is used. In a Heathen epitaph, we have *si quis violaverit ad inferos non recipiatur;* in a Christian, *male pereat, insepultus jaceat, non resurgat, cum Juda partem habeat, si quis sepulcrum hunc violaverit.*

Sometimes the anathema is resorted to, as in the following, found in the island of Salamis, and given by Kirchhoff, n. 9303 :

Οἶκος αἰώνιος Ἀγάθωνος ἀναγνώστου καὶ Εὐφημίας ἐν δυσὶ θήκαις ἰδίᾳ ἑκάστῳ ἡμῶν. Εἰ δέ τις τῶν ἰδίων ἢ ἕτερός τις τολμήσῃ σῶμα καταθέσθαι ἐνταῦθα παρὲξ τῶν δύο ἡμῶν, λόγον δώῃ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἀνάθεμα ἤτω μαραναθάν. i. e.

"The everlasting dwelling of Agatho, a reader, and Euphemia, in two graves, one for each of us separately. If any one of our relatives or any one else shall presume to bury a body here, besides us two, may he give account to God and let him be anathema maranatha"

(*k*) *Sarcophagus* :— 85.

DEP IVL ZACO NIS DIE IIII NOVEM BRES DATIA NO ET CEREA LE COSS

FL · IVLIVS ZACONVS ET AVRELIA MERIA CON IVX EIVS HOC SARCOFA GVM SIBI VIBI· POSVERVNT SI QVIS POST NOSTRAM PAV SATIONEM HOC SARCOFA GVM APERIRE VOLVERIT IN FERAT ECCLESIAE SALON · AR GENTI LIBRAS QVINQVAGINTA

(*Salonis;* Muratori, 381, 2.)

Flavius Julius Zaconus (Diaconus) *et Aurelia Meria conjux ejus hoc* (hunc) *sarcofayum* (sarcophagum) *sibi vibi* (vivi) *posuerunt. Si quis post nostram pausationem hoc* (hunc) *sarcophagum aperire voluerit inferat ecclesiæ Salonitanæ argenti libras quinquaginta.*

Depositus Julius Zaconis (Diaconus) *die IV* [Kalendas] *Novembres, Datiano et Cereale Consulibus.*

"Flavius Julius, a deacon, and Aurelia Meria his wife, whilst living, erected this sarcophagus for themselves. If any one after our decease shall take on himself to open this sarcophagus, let him pay as the penalty fifty pounds of silver to the church at Salonæ."

"Julius, the deacon, was buried on the fourth day before the Calends of November, in the Consulship of Datianus and Cerealis," *i. e.* October 29th, 358 A. D.

l. 1. *Zaconus.* See note on epitaph 65. Muratori observes :—

"*Zaconus* et *Zaconis* est pro *Diaconus* et *Diaconis*, uti *Zabulus* pro *Diabolus*, *Zeta* pro *Dieta*."

I have regarded *Zaconis* as given in mistake for *Zaconus*, and think that the correctness of this view is confirmed by the name "*Julius*."

l. 7. *Inferat*, &c. The naming of a penalty for violation of the grave is of very common occurrence in Pagan epitaphs, both Greek and Latin.

There is scarcely one of the *designations of the place of burial used in Christian epitaphs, so far as I recollect, that is peculiar to them. *Locus*, *tumulus*, *memoria*, *cubiculum*, *sepulchrum*, *sarcophagus*, &c., are found in Pagan inscriptions, from which, also, †*domus æterna*, although inconsistent with belief in the resurrection, has been inadvertently borrowed. See De Rossi, nn. 159, 173.

VII. Those which contain Cyclic marks of time.

(*a*) Day of the month, day of the week, and day of the moon without the year :—

86.

BALENTINE QVE VIXIT ANNOS XXXVI
DECESSIT · VIKAL · MAR · DIEBENERIS
LNAXVII.

(*In coem. Priscillæ ;* De Rossi, n. 597.)

Balentine (Valentinæ), *que* (quæ) *vixit annos XXXVI. Decessit VI Kalendas Martias*, *die Beneris* (Veneris), *luna XVII.*

"To Valentina, who lived thirty-six years. She departed on the sixth day before the Calends of March, Friday, the seventeenth day of the Moon," *i. e.* February 24th, 411 or 327 A.D.

In this inscription the Consuls are not mentioned ; nor is there any other form of expression for the year used ; and yet the full date may be inferred from what is therein stated. It is plain that it must be a year in which February 24th and the 17th day of the Moon fell on Friday. Marini's comments are : — "*Hujus inscriptionis characteres, si auctor veterem ecclesiæ cyclum annorum LXXXIV sequutus est,*

* I have not observed *quadrisomus* in any Pagan epitaph.

† This form or *domus æternalis* is unusually common in the epitaphs of *Pomaria* in Algeria. See Renier, n. 456. In different localities, as might be expected, different forms were popular. Thus *pius* often occurs in African, and *carus suis* in Spanish epitaphs.

pertinere possunt ad annos 327, 411, 495, *qui cycli XXX sunt, atque exordiuntur die solis luna XXII; proindeque novilunium Januarii contigit die X, Februarii die VIII, a qua ad VI Kal. Martias, seu ad diem XXIV Februarii dies sunt XVII.*"

De Rossi discusses the subject, and shows that the choice lies between 327 and 411, as in 495 the Victorian canon was in use at Rome, according to which we should have had *luna XV*, not *XVII*. Of the two the first, 327, is preferable, as the characteristics of the inscription, *i. e.* the absence of contractions and the use of the ancient term *decessit*, point to the earlier date.

(*b*) Hour, day of the month, and day of the Moon with year :—87.

PVER NATVSA Ω
DIVOIOVIANO AVG · ET
VARRONIANO COSS
ORANOCTIS · IIII
IN VXIT VIII · IDVS MADIAS
DIE SATVRNIS LVNAVIGESIMA
SIGNO APIORNONOMINFSIMPCCIVS

(*In Mus. Capitolino;* De Rossi, n. 172.)

Puer natus, (*Alpha Omega*) *Divo Ioviano Augusto et Varroniano Consulibus, ora* (hora) *noctis IV, in vxit VIII Idus Madias* (Maias), *die Saturnis* (Saturni), *Luna vigesima, signo Apiorno* (Capricorno), *nomine Simpccius* (Simplicius).

"A boy born (Alpha Omega) in the Consulship of the deified Jovian Augustus, and Varronianus (*i. e.* 364 A.D.), in the fourth hour of the night, ———— the eighth day before the Ides of May, *i. e.* May 8th, on Saturday, the twentieth day of the Moon, in the sign of Capricorn, by name Simplicius."

l. 1. *Puer natus.* This is no uncommon beginning. See n. 88, and notes on it. l. 2. *Divo Joviano.* This Emperor died on the *XIV Kal. Martias*, in the year 364 A.D., and after that date was styled, as was usual, *Divus.* Christians used the ordinary term, in the sense "deceased" or "late," without regard to the sense assigned by Pagans.

l. 5. *In vxit.* It is difficult to determine what was the word intended by the unskilful workman who cut the inscription. Maffei, *Mus. Ver.* p. 252, makes two attempts at it :—"*fortasse* inluxit *intelligendum, hoc est lucidus moriendo evasit; fortasse* inussit, *pro inustus est fidei nota, seu baptismate.*" Le Blant, *Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule t. i. p.* 479,

reads "induxit," *i. e. induxit albas* = was baptized. See n. 88, and notes on it. Guasco, iii. p. 141, n. 1235, suggests "inluxit," in the sense (according to De Rossi)—*Simplicium natum hora noctis quarta simul ac* inluxerat *dies VIII Idus Maii.* De Rossi objects to this—that the hours were astrologically counted not from midnight but from sunset, and, after stating Maffei's and Le Blant's views, remarks that the words are *novæ prorsus et Christianis titulis inauditæ.* He himself suggests, "In vixit" in the sense—*vixit in VIII Idus Maias. i. e.* Simplicius was born in the fourth hour of the night and lived only for the one day—May 8th. There are, I think, but few scholars that would accept the views of Maffei or Le Blant. Guasco's is recommended by similar phraseology in Muratori's n. 2, p. 431—"*Obiit bonæ memoriæ Cæsaria* medium noctis die Dominica inlucescente *VI Id. Decembris.*" Thus also Suetonius, *Cæsar,* c. 81—*Ea* nocte, *cui* illuxit *dies cædis,* &c. In Kirchoff's n. 9119 we have the corresponding Greek phrase — *ἐπιφωσκ[ούσης τῆς] ὀγδόης τοῦ Ἀ [θυρ] μηνός.* But I am not satisfied. The objection to De Rossi's reading is—that he does not supply the letter in the place left vacant by the stone cutter *scil.* between N and V. Can it be that the vacant space was intended for the monogram, with the letters AΩ incorporated with it, as they often were, and that this having been omitted either from the ignorance or inadvertence of the workman, AΩ were cut in the corner, but yet should be read between *In* and *vixit—scil.* "in AΩ vixit" *i. e. in Deo* or *Christo vixit,* in the sense "lived in God," "died?" See n. 65, &c.

l. 6. *Die Saturni luna vigesima signo Capricorno.* This inscription has been discussed chronologically and astronomically by Blanchini, Lupi and Marini, but De Rossi is the first who has shown that the notices in it are really astrological, and that they should be regarded as forming a horoscope of birth. Thus, p. LXXXIV, he proves that each of these characteristics — *scil.* the fourth hour of Saturday, the Moon in Capricorn, and the twentieth day of the May moon — was regarded as unlucky. See also his comment.

(*c*) Day of the month, octave of Easter, and year :— 88.

NATV · SEVERINOMINEPASCASIVS
DIESPASCALESPRIDNOVAAPRILN
DIEIOBISFL·CONSTANTINO
ETRVFOV̄V̄CCCONSSQVIVIXIT

ANNORVMVI · PERCEPIT
XIKALMAIASETALBASSVAS
OCTABASPASCAEADSEPVLCRVM
DEPOSVITD · IIIIKALMAIFLBASILIO
V̄CCOns

(*Urbini in ædibus publicis ;* De Rossi, n. 810.)

Natu (s) Severi nomine Pasc(h)asius dies Pasc(h)ales pridie Nonas Apriles, in die Jovis, Flavio Constantino et Rufo, Viris Clarissimis, Consulibus, qui vixit annorum (annos) *VI. Percepit XI Calendas Maias et albas suas Octavas* (Octavis) *Paschæ ad sepulcrum deposuit, IV Kalendas Maias, Flavio Basilio, Viro Clarissimo, Consule.*

"Severus, who had also the name Paschasius, was born on one of the Paschal days, the day before the Nones of April (*i. e.* April 4th), on the day of Jupiter, (Thursday), in the Consulship of Flavius Constantinus and Rufus, most distinguished men (*i. e.* 457 A. D.), who lived six years. He received baptism on the eleventh day before the Calends of May (*i. e.* April 21st), and laid aside his albs at the sepulchre, on the Octave of Easter, on the fourth day before the Calends of May, in the Consulship of Flavius Basilius, a most distinguished man," *i. e.* 463 A. D.

l. 1. *nomine.* Whether we regard *Severi* as used for *Severus,* or governed by some word understood, it seems certain that *nomine* should be joined to the name following, as in De Rossi's nn. 41, 49, 172, 229, &c. De Rossi remarks : "*Ille, cujus hoc est epitaphium, paterno sive materno cognomine Severus appellatus Paschasii quoque agnomen habuit, quod natus erat anno* 457 *die Jovis paschali.*" l. 2. *dies Paschales.* Used for *die Paschali.* These *dies Paschales,* as we know from a law of the Emperor Valentinian, *Cod. Theodos.* ii. 8, 2, were in number 15, 7 before and 7 after Easter-day. *pridie Nonas Apriles die Jovis, i. e.* on Thursday, April the 4th, in Easter week, for in the year 457 A.D. (*scil.* the year in which Constantine and Rufus were Consuls), according to both Roman and Alexandrian calculation, Easter-day was observed on March the 31st. l. 5. *percepit, i. e. baptisma percepit,* "received baptism." **Percipio* is similarly used in heathen inscrip-

* In some instances, where this verb is used, it is difficult to decide whether the inscription is Christian or Pagan. Thus in Henzen's n. 6147 :—*D. M. Murtius Verinus pater Murtie Verine et Murtie Florianeni filiabus malemerentibus crudelis pater titulum iscripsit. Verina* percepit M. X, *vicxit annos XII, menses V, Florianes* percepit M. XII. *vicxit annis VIII, M. III. Innocentes acceperunt a suo patre quod ei debuerant ;* and in Mommsen's I. N. n. 3160 :—*D. M. Ingeniosæ que vixit annis*

tions, where it is applied to those who had participated in the mystic rites of the *Mater Deum Magna Idæa* or of *Mithras*, known as the **Taurobolium* and *Criobolium*. Thus we have—*percepto Taurobolio Criobolioque*, in an inscription, given by De Rossi n. 24, of the date 319 A. D.; in Orelli's n. 2130, of the date 390 A. D.; in his n. 2335, of the date 376 A.D.; in Henzen's n. 6040, of the date 370 A.D.; in Muratori's n. 4, p. 389, of the date 383 A. D.; and also in Reinesius, *Cl.* 1, 40 (without date), whose note is worth reading. In Muratori's n. 2, p. 371, of the date 305 A. D., we have the words *Taurobolium* percepi *felic(iter)*.

The oldest example of the *taurobolium*, of which I am aware, was in 175 A.D. See Fleetwood, p. 11; Fabretti, p. 665; and Reinesius, as above.

Another term, in which there is a strange agreement, is *renatus*, applied by Christians to the baptized—as in De Rossi's n. 270, (*ca*) *clesti renatus* (*aq*)*ua qui vivit in* (*aevum*) (see also n. 36—*natus est in æternum*)—and by Pagans to the *Tauroboliati*. Thus *Taurobolio Criobolioque in aeternum renatus*, in Orelli's n. 2352, of the date 376 A.D.; and *arcanis perfusionibus in æternum renatus Taurobolium Crioboliumque fecit* in Henzen's n. 6040. These mystic rites seem to have been a mixture of the cults of the *Magna Mater* and *Mithras*, with the addition of some Christian principles and terms.

l. 6. *XI Calendas Maias.* From the words *Octavas Paschæ*, and *Basilio Consule*, it is evident that this day — *scil.* April 21st — was Easter-day in the year 463 A. D., and that Severus was baptized, according to custom, on its vigil, the day being counted, as usual, from Saturday to Sunday evening. But here a great difficulty presents itself. According to the tables of Noris, Easter-day should in this year, conformably to Roman calculation, have been celebrated on *IX Calendas Apriles*, *i. e.* March 24th. The learned Cardinal discusses the subject

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III, M. V, Dies XXI. Fide percepit *mesorum VII. Aur. Fortunius pater filiæ.* Henzen regards *fide* as used for *fidem;* I am inclined to take it as an adverb.

* The *Taurobolium* and *Criobolium* were respectively sacrifices of a bull and a ram, on the occasion of initiations. The persons who received them (*qui perceperunt*) descended into a deep pit, which was covered over with a wooden platform composed of pierced planks. On this platform the animal was killed, and the persons beneath presented their bodies to receive the blood, as it descended through the holes. The result was believed to be purification that lasted for twenty years, or everlasting regeneration.

ad fastos consulares anonymi and *de pasch. Lat. cyclo*, where he suggests two solutions, both of which have been proved to be erroneous, one by Van der Hagen, and the other by De Rossi. The latter shows that by the old Roman calculation of the cycle of 84 years, before it was amended by Prosper, and also by the Victorian correction, Easter-day was observed in the year 463 A.D., on the *XI Calendas Maias*, *i. e.* April 21st, not on the *IX Calendas Apriles*, or March 24th.

ll. 6, 7. *albas suas Octabas Pascæ ad sepulcrum deposuit.* White dresses (*albæ*) were worn by those receiving baptism. On the Sunday next after Easter Sunday, *i. e.* the Octave of Easter-day, these dresses were laid aside, whence this Sunday was called *Dominica in Albis. Paschasius* was buried on the day on which, according to usage, he should have laid aside his *albs* or white clothes.

VIII. Miscellaneous.

(*a*) The most ancient dated epitaph :— . 89.

(See Plate IV, 3.)

(*In Mus. Lateran.*; De Rossi, n. 1.)

[*A*]*ug*(*ustas*) *Vespasiano III Consule.—Jan*(*uarias.*)

"——— before the Calends (?) of August, in the third Consulship of Vespasian" (*i. e.* 71 A.D.) "——— before the Calends of January."

This fragment has been received as a part of a Christian epitaph by Reggi, Marini, and De Rossi. It is the most ancient of all such that bear dates. The chief grounds on which it has been regarded as Christian are that the slab is of the same kind as those used to close the tombs in the Catacombs, and that it had adhering to it the mortar by which such slabs were fixed in their places. To these grounds De Rossi has made an important addition, by his reading IAN as *Januarias*, thus showing that the stone closed a *locus bisomus*, containing the bodies of one who had died—before the Calends [?] of August, and of another who had died—before the Calends of January.

In the year 71 Vespasian was Consul for the third time, with Cocceius Nerva as his colleague. On the 1st of March or April he resigned the office, and, on the 1st of July, L. Flavius Fimbria and Attilius Barbarus were made *consules suffecti*. The year then is marked here, as in other Christian epitaphs, not by the names of the *suffecti*, but by that of one of the *ordinarii*.

VG VESPASIANO·IIII COS
VAN

ANIMEINNOCEN
TIGAVDENTIAEQVEVI
XITDAN·VM·VIIDXXIINPACE

LEPVCCVKEO
QVIVIXIT AN VM
EIMEITT VN DEC
ESDIERDECE NOVE
IERTSEPTIMVCA
CENDARAGVSTAC
ONORIOSEXTRASVLIO

PETRONIAE DIGNAE COIVGI QVE VIXIT ANNIS
XXI ET FECIT CVM CONPARE SVO AA X D V
KAL NOB POS CONSS GRATIANI TERETEQVITI
VRSVS MARITVS SIBI ET INNOCENTI CO
MPARI FECIT CESQVET IN PACE

(*b*) Unexplained numerals :— 90.

N·XXX· SVRA ET SENEC · COSS·

(*E coemet. Lucinæ;* De Rossi, n. 2.)

N·XXX· Sura et Senecione Consulibus.

"In the Consulship of Sura and Senecio," *i. e.* 107 A. D.

The numeral III is omitted after SVRA and II after SENEC. See De Rossi's note.

I have not attempted to translate "N · XXX ·," as their meaning is unknown. The interpretation that has been generally received is that they stand for *numero XXX*, indicating that martyrs were buried there in number thirty. This view has been taken by Visconti, Cavedoni, Raoul Rochette, and Wiseman. Roestel also assents, but regards the inscription as commemorative of a past age. De Rossi objects, in my judgment with good reason, to this *interpretation. He calls in question the genuineness or analogy of the other inscriptions usually compared with this as confirming the sense assigned to it, and points out the improbability that the stone marked a *loculus* in the Catacombs, as the greatest number of bodies contained in such is 4. He suggests that the inscription may be imperfect, and that thus N may be regarded as the last letter of ANN. *i.e. annorum, scil. annorum XXX*, the person, whose name preceded, being of thirty years of age. It is remarkable that in this De Rossi was anticipated by Maitland, who (p. 58) "reads the words as the fragment of *qui vixit ann. XXX Syrra et Senec. coss*, who lived thirty years. In the Consulate of Syrra and Senecio; that is, A.D. 102." I cannot concur in this explanation. It suits this particular case, but is wholly inapplicable in others *e. gr.* in Fabretti, p. 574, 61, we have the epitaph of *Leopardus*, a boy whose age is stated to have been 7 years and 7 months. At the commencement of it are the letters—DMASACRVM XL, *i.e. Dis Manibus Sacrum.* 40. Again, in the Catacomb of St. Agnes, De Rossi found LIX on the *loculus* of an infant. Nor can

* This view might seem to be as old as the time of Prudentius (*scil.* the 4th century), for he writes:—

Sunt et multa tamen tacitas claudentia turbas,
Marmora quæ solum significant numerum.

But the reference here seems to be to *Polyandria*—pits containing many dead bodies—not to *loculi*, of which, so far as I am aware, there is no example of their containing more than four.

Amati's positive assertion that they indicate *loculorum ordines* be received, for this is contrary to the experience of those who have personally examined the Catacombs. To me it seems evident that there is no sufficient reason for believing either that these numerals indicate the number of bodies buried within, or that the deceased were Martyrs. I can offer no satisfactory solution: it has seemed to me, however, not improbable that the numbers were the marks of workmen —the *fossores* or their assistants—who may have been paid according to the number of *loculi* excavated or of slabs put up. I have observed a similar notation in a Pagan epitaph, given by Orelli, n. 5008:— *N. III. Id. Nov. Diis Manibus Didiæ Q. F. Quintinæ Luetina Priscus uxori optimæ V. A. XXVII.* Labus remarks: — "*Numero tertio, Idibus Novembribus:* cioè la pietra, il cippo, il monumento ecc. era posto nel terren sacro al No. 3."

(*c*) Specimen of Palæography:— 91.

(See Plate III, 1.)

(*E coemet. Cyriacæ;* De Rossi, n. 21.)

Decesit (decessit) *Serotina pride* (pridie) *Kal. Martias m(ensium) X, dier(um) XX, Diocl(etiano)* ♀ (VI) [consule.]

"Serotina departed on the day before the Calends of March, (aged) ten months, twenty days, in the sixth Consulship of Diocletian," *i. e.* February 29th, 296 A. D.

(*d*) Use of D. M. by Christians:— 92.

D· M·
P · LIBERIO VIXIT ANN N̄ · V · MENS
N̄ III DIES N̄ VIII RANICIO
FAVSTO ET VIRIO GAL·

(*E coem.?;* De Rossi, n. 24.)

Diis Manibus. Publio Liberio, vixit annos numero V, menses numero III, dies numero VIII. Recessit Anicio Fausto et Virio Gallo (Consulibus).

"To the Gods the Manes. To Publius Liberius. He lived years in number five, months in number three, days in number eight. He retired (from this world) in the Consulship of Faustus and Virius Gallus, *i. e.* 298 A.D."

We have here an example of the use of the heathen formula D. M., *Diis Manibus*, in an epitaph that De Rossi and other scholars regard as Christian. I have noticed this anomaly in Part XI of my "Notes on Latin Inscriptions found in Britain" (*Canadian Journal*, X. p. 95),

and ascribed it either to thoughtless use of the form, produced by familiarity with it as the ordinary commencement of a sepulchral inscription, or to the fact, that grave-stones were kept for sale with these letters cut on them, and were purchased by Christians without consideration of their appropriateness. Fabretti insists that these letters when they occur in a Christian epitaph, stand for *Deo Magno*, or *Deo Maximo;* but there is no doubt that his opinion is erroneous, for the form is found, in at least one such inscription, *in extenso*, *i. e. Dïis Manibus*. See Orelli, n. 4458=4723, and compare Maitland, "Church in the Catacombs," pp. 59, 60, 61, who regards this inscription to *Liberius* as 'almost certainly Pagan.' The same view of it is taken by Roestel. I incline, however, to the belief that it is Christian. My reasons are that it was found in one of the Catacombs, that the stone was not broken, and that we find in the inscription the letter R used for *recessit*, *requiescit*, or *reddidit*. See Epitaph, n. 1. Maitland's version of this inscription is liable to just censure. In his text, he gives R before ANICIO, but takes no notice of it either in his translation or in his remarks. Again, the date is given by him as A. D. 98; and although one would be disposed to explain this error by supposing that 2 was accidentally omitted before 98, by a typographical mistake, it is impossible to accept this solution, for, in pp. 58, 59, he notices this inscription as of earlier date than two others, one of A.D. 102, and the other of A. D. 111. In Westropp's "Handbook of Archæology," p. 400, we have the same inscription, with the same neglect of R in translation, and with the date A. D. 102. The same author assigns A.D. 130 for the inscription relative to Marius, and A. D. 160 for that relative to Alexander, without sufficient ground for assigning either year.

The most remarkable of the Christian epitaphs, that have the heathen formula in the commencement, is a well known one to *Leopardus*, discussed by Fabretti, p. 574, and by Raoul Rochette, in a "Memoire sur les antiquités chrétiennes des catacombes," in *Mem. de l'Académ. des inscript. et belles lettres*, XIII.

The inscription, as given by Fabretti, stands thus:

DMA SACRVM XL
LEOPARDVM IN PACEM
CVM SPIRITA SANTA · ACCEP
TVM EVMTE ABEATIS INNOCINEM
POSVER · PAR · Q · AN · N · VII · MEN · VII ·

In Raoul Rochette's *copy, we have *evinte* for *eumte* in the fourth line, and G for Q in the fifth. Mabillon discovered in this inscription a manifest reference to the rite of *confirmation*. Fabretti gravely corrects this interpretation, as he found in it a manifest reference to the rite of *baptism!* Raoul Rochette judiciously maintained that †neither was right. He remarks—"Il n' est question, dans ces expressions d' une latinitè barbare, d' aucun de ces sacrements de l' Eglise; ou reconnait une foule d' exemples de ces mots; *cum spirito, ispirito, hispirito sancto, cum spirita sancta,* altérés d' une manière plus ou moins vicieuse, et qui ne peuvent s'entendre que de l'*ame* même du chrétien, admise après la mort dans le séjour des bienheureux, en vertu de la synonymie connu des mots *anima* et *spiritus,* dans le vocabulaire de la basse latinité." He closes his observations on the inscription by proposing the following expansion:

"*Divis martyribus sacrum quadraginta*
Leopardum in pace
cum Spiritu sancto accep
tum eumdem habeatis. ‡ *Innocentem*
posuerunt parentes. qui [vixit] *annis VII, mensibus VII.*"

It is very difficult to infer from the two copies that I have before me—viz., Fabretti's and Raoul Rochette's—the true reading of the inscription; but I entertain no doubt that both Mabillon's and Fabretti's interpretations should be rejected, and that Raoul Rochette's view as to *cum spirita santa* is correct. At the same time, his expansion—*Divis Martyribus sacrum quadraginta*—is clearly inadmissible. There is no authority in any epitaph for this rendering. Nor is there any reasonable doubt that the letters DMA stand for *Diis Manibus,*

* As given in *Dictionnaire d' Épigraphie Chrétienne,* ii. p. 758.

† Lupi held the same opinion, *viz.,* that there was no reference to either baptism or confirmation. He explains the 2d, 3d, and 4th lines thus: *Leopardum in pacem* (pace) *cum Spirita Sancta* (Spiritus Sanctos, Spiritibus Sanctis) *acceptum eumte* (eumdem) *abeatis innocinem* (habeatis innocentem). Corsini, *Not. Græc. Diss.* ii. p. xxxvi, rejects this view, and proposes the following as preferable:—*Leopardum in pace cum Spiritu Sancto* (the Holy Spirit). *Acceptum eundem a Beatis* (the Blessed) *innocentem posuerunt Parentes.*

‡ I have given this whole expansion, as it appears in *Dictionnaire d'Épigraphie Chrétienne,* for I am unable to refer to the original article in the *Mem. de l'Académie.* I am not satisfied, however, that either the presence or the absence of the points is as Raoul Rochette intended: the authority of the *Dictionnaire* is not worth considering.

as Mabillon understood them; whilst the signification of XL, as I have observed in my note on Epitaph, n. 90, remains to be discovered. The rest of his expansion is probable, except the omission of *numero* after *annis*, which should be introduced, if Fabretti's punctuation be correct. But another, and a very remarkable, peculiarity of the inscription, hitherto unnoticed, remains to be considered—*i. e.* the use of the expression *acceptum habeatis* with the dedication *Dis Manibus* in a Christian epitaph. If we compare this with the words—*Manes sanctissimæ* [*sic*] commendatum habeatis *meum conjugem* in Orelli's n. 4775, a Pagan epitaph, and *Sanctique tui Manes nobis petentibus adsint* in Gruter's, 1061, 7, a Christian epitaph, there can, I think, be but little doubt that some Christians of the early ages retained some of the Pagan superstitions. See Mabillon, p. 75, and Morcelli, *Stil.* ii. 71, 72. To me it is plain, that whatever difference of opinion may arise as to the exact reading of this inscription to Leopardus, there can be no question that in it his parents asked the *Di Manes*, the Pagan deities of the unseen world after death, to receive with favor their innocent son. Nor can there be any doubt that the inscription is Christian, for this is proved by the use of the terms—*in pacem, cum spirita santa.* On the latter see Epitaph, n. 42; and on the use of Christian terms in Pagan inscriptions, see notes on Epitaphs 49, 88.

(*e*) Specimen of Palæography:— 93.

(See Plate IV, 1.)

(*In Mus. Capitolin.*; De Rossi, n. 50.

Anime (Animæ) *innocenti Gaudentiæ, que* (quæ) *vixit annos V, menses VII, dies XXII, in pace. Mercurius pater filiae d* (epositæ) ϙ *idus Novemb. Urso et Polemio coss.*

"To an innocent spirit Gaudentia, who lived five years, seven months, twenty-two days, in peace. Her father Mercurius for his daughter buried on the sixth day before the Ides of November, in the Consulship of Ursus and Polemius," *i. e.* November 8th, 338 A. D.

(*f*) Use of *puer* as applied to persons of mature age:— 94.

VRSO ET POLEMIO CONSS NATVS PVER
NOMINE MERCVRIVS D IIII KAL APRILI
DEPOSITVS VII · KAL · SEPT · QVI VIXIT
ANN · XXIIII · M · VII · DXV · BENEM · INP

(*Pisauri; e coem. Urbis*; De Rossi, n. 49.)

Urso et Polemio Consulibus, natus puer, nomine Mercurius, die IV Kalendas Apriles, depositus VII Kalendas Septembres, qui vixit annos XXIV, menses VII, dies XV, benemerenti in pace.

"In the Consulship of Ursus and Polemius (*i. e.* 338 A.D.) a boy was born by name Mercurius, on the fourth day before the Calends of April (*i. e.* March 29th). Buried on the seventh day before the Calends of September (*i. e.* August 26th), who lived twenty-four years, seven months, fifteen days; to him well deserving in peace."

On first sight of this inscription, it seems strange that a person of twenty-four years of age should be called *puer*, and that he should be said to have been born and buried in the same year. The explanation is that *natus* is used with reference to birth by baptism, estimated by which *Mercurius* was but *puer* at the time of his death. See De Rossi's nn. 178, and 193.

(*g*) Mention of time of sickness before death :— 95.

PERPETVO BENEMERENTI IN PACE
QVI VIXIT · ANNOS · PLM · XXX ME*nsces* ...
DEPOSITVS IDVS APRILIS DEFVN*ctus ne*
OFITVS PERIT · IN DIES · V ·
POS CONSVLATV · VICTORI*s et*
VALENTINIANI · NOBI *lisssmi pueri*

(*In Mus. Vat.*; De Rossi, n. 214.)

Perpetuo bene merenti in pace, qui vixit annos plus minus XXX, menses ——. *Depositus Idus Aprilis* (Idibus Aprilibus), *defunctus neofitus* (neophytus), *perit in dies V, post Consulatu* (Consulatum) *Victoris et Valentiniani, Nobilissimi Pueri.*

"To Perpetuus, well deserving, in peace, who lived thirty years more or less, —— months. Buried on the Ides of April (April 13th), died a neophyte, was sick for five days, in the year after the Consulship of Victor, and Valentinian, the most noble boy," *i. e.* 370 A. D.

l. 4. *Perit in dies V.* This notice of the period of sickness is very rare. We have another example in De Rossi's n. 8 :—ἐνόσησεν ἡμέρας ιβ̄. l. 5. *Post consulatum Victoris et Valentiniani.* It is strange that this form should be used to denote the year, instead of the ordinary form—*Valentiniano III et Valente III*—especially as we have examples of the use of this latter in Christian epitaphs of January and March. No satisfactory reason can be assigned for this variation, which is also used in other cases apparently capriciously.

(*k*) *Domini Nostri* applied to Consuls not *Augusti* :— 96.

DD NN · CLAEARCO ET RICOMEDE VVCC
CONSVLIBVS BENEMERENTI OLIBIONI QVI VIXIT
ANNVS XV· MESIS VI DIES XX DECESSIT
DIE XII KALENDAS OCTOBRES IN PACE

Dominis Nostris Claearco (Clearcho) *et Ricomede* (Ricomere), *Viris Clarissimis, Consulibus. Benemerenti Olibioni, qui vixit annus* (annos) *XV, mesis* (menses) *VI, dies XX. Decessit* (decessit) *die XII Kalendas Octobres in pace.*

"In the Consulship of our Lords Clearchus and Ricomer, most distinguished men (*i. e.* 384 A.D.) To the well-deserving Olibio, who lived fifteen years, six months, twenty days. He departed on the twelfth day before the Calends of October, in peace," *i. e.* September 20th.

l. 1. DDNN. The phrase *Domini Nostri* is commonly applied to the Emperors; here it is used regarding private persons, who were Consuls. There are, also, other examples of this of earlier date. Hence Corsini, Zaccaria, and Cancelleri inferred that from the close of the 4th century, Consuls were usually styled *Domini*. Muratori, Hagenbuch, and De Rossi, more correctly, ascribe this use to inadvertency and mistake on the part of the stone-cutters.

(*l*) *Opisthographa* :— 97.

(1) HIC · POSITVS · EST
VICTORIANVS QVI VIXIT
ANN · PLVS MINVS L DIPOSI
TOS · IN PACE · DIEM IIII · KAL
IVN · DDNN · TL CAESARIO
ET NONIO · ATTICO · VVCC

(2) D M
Q. VERGILIVS. FELIX
QVI VIXIT. ANNIS. III
MES. VI. DIEB. XVII.

(*E coem. S. Hippolyti;* D. Rossi, n. 445.)

(1) *Hic positus est Victorianus, qui vixit annos plus minus L. Dipositos* (depositus) *in pace diem* (die) *IV Kalendas Junias, Dominis Nostris Tl.* (Flavio) *Cæsario et Nonio Attico, Viris Clarissimis.*

(2) *Diis Manibus. Quintus Vergilius Felix, qui vixit annis* (annos) *III, mes* (menses) *VI, diebus* (dies) *XVII.*

(1) Here has been placed Victorianus, who lived fifty years, more or less. Buried in peace on the fourth day before the Calends of June, in the Consulship of our Lords, Flavius Cæsarius et Nonius Atticus, most distinguished men," *i. e.* May 29th, 397 A. D.

(2) "To the Gods the Manes. Quintus Vergilius Felix, who lived three years six months [and] seventeen days."

I have given this as an example of the *tabulæ opisthographæ*, that are sometimes found in the Catacombs, *scil.* tablets on which a Pagan inscription had been cut, but which were subsequently used for a Christian epitaph.

Nonius Atticus had *Maximus* as his *agnomen.* It has been inferred from a lamp bearing the monogram, and his name—*Noni Attici* $\overline{VC}$ *et Inlustris*, that he was a Christian. This inference has been confirmed by a proof of the Christianity of the Nonian family at this period, given by Minervini, in *Bull. Nap.* Ser. 2 t. 1 p. 15, to which De Rossi, p. 198 refers, but which I have not seen.

(*k*) Specimen of Palæography :— 98.

(See Plate IV, 4.)

(*E coemet. S. Zotici ;* De Rossi, n. 530.).

Lepusclus (Lepusculus) *Leo, qui vixit anum* (annum) *et mensis.* (menses) *undeci* (undecim) *et dies dece* (decem) *et nove* (novem) *perit septimu* (septimo) *calendas Agustas* (Augustas) *Onorio* (Honorio) *sexis* (sexies) *Agusto* (Augusto).

"Lepusculus Leo, who lived a year and eleven months and nineteen days. He died on the seventh day before the Calends of August, (in the Consulship of) Honorius for the sixth time," *i. e.* July 26th, 404 A. D.

Lepusculus, as *Muscula*, was, probably, a pet name. Compare the modern *Leporello.* I have translated *perit* as standing for *periit*, but it may be used as τελευτᾷ in Epitaph 23.

(*l*) Posture in prayer :— 99.

(See Plate IV, 2.)

(*E coemet. Commodillæ ;* De Rossi, n. 251.)

Petroniæ dignæ coiugi (conjugi) *que* (quæ) *vixit annis* (annos) *XXI, et fecit cum conpare* (compare) *suo menses X, dies V.* [Deposita]

Kalendis Novembribus pos (post) *Consulatum Gratiani ter et Equitii, Ursus maritus sibi et innocenti compari fecit. Cesquet* (quiescit) *in pace.*

"To Petronia, a worthy wife, who lived twenty-one years, and passed with her mate ten months, five days. [Buried] on the Calends of November, in the year after the Consulship of Gratianus, for the third time, and Equitius (*i. e.* November 1st, 375 A. D.) Ursus, her husband, made (this) for himself and his blameless mate. She rests in peace."

I have selected this epitaph chiefly because the stone presents an illustration of the attitude of a person praying. This position was at one time so general, that those, who were suffering penance, were not permitted to stand up in the church during prayer.

The outstretched arms and uplifted hands were common to both Jews and Pagans. At one time this figure in the attitude of prayer was regarded as an emblem of martyrdom; and the crown and the palm-branch, also, were interpreted as having similar significance, but these theories have not stood investigation. The figure in prayer is certainly a proof of Christianity, but the crown and the palm-branch are found on Pagan tomb-stones. See Muratori *Nov. Thesaur.*, 1828, 5, *Antiq. Ital. diss.* LVIII; Raoul Rochette, *Mem. sur les Antiq. Chrét.* p. ii. § 2.; Cardinal Mai, *Vet. Script. Nov. Collect.* V, p. 3, n. 1; and De Rossi, n. 30.

No symbol has so far been suggested as a criterion of martyrdom, that has been universally accepted by scholars. And yet there are at present few, if any, who would give their assent to Dodwell's opinions *de paucitate Martyrum*, or to Burnet's views, in his "Letters from Switzerland, &c.," regarding the identity of the catacombs and *puticuli.*

Birds form one of the favorite decorations of Christian tombstones. The most common of these is the dove, represented singly or in pairs, with or without a branch in the mouth, sometimes perched on a tree, sometimes pecking at a bunch of grapes, and sometimes standing on a vase. Singly it has been regarded as the emblem of peace or of simplicity—in pairs it may have been, in some cases, the symbol of affection. It is Jewish in its origin, and was, doubtless, derived from the history of Noah. Two other birds are occasionally represented, the peacock and the phœnix. They are both Pagan in their origin, but were used by Christians as symbolical of the resurrection.

(*m*) Interval between death and burial :— 100.

DN·MAGNO MAXIMO AVG·II CONSS
III IDVS MAIAS FATVM FECIT LEO ET
DEPOSITVS PRIDIE IDVS MAIAS BENE
MERENTI IN PACE

(*E coem. Cyriacæ ;* De Rossi, n. 374.)

Domino Nostro Magno Maximo Augusto iterum Consule, III Idus Maias fatum fecit Leo et depositus pridie Idus Maias. Bene merenti in pace.

"In the second Consulship of our Lord Magnus Maximus Augustus (*i. e.* 388 A. D.), on the third day before the Ides of May (*i. e.* May 13th), Leo died, and was buried on the day before the Ides of May (*i. e.* May 14th). To him well deserving in peace."

l. 2. *Fatum fecit.* This rare expression for *defunctus est* is found in some other Christian epitaphs. See Corsini, *Not. Græc. Diss. ii,* p. XXIV.

l. 3 *Depositus pridie Idus Maias.* Here the deceased was buried on the day after his death. Thus we find in Gruter, 1054, 8—*quæ recessit die Mercurii hora VIII et deposita die Iovis Iduum Maiarum, i. e.* she died on Wednesday and was buried on Thursday. See other examples in Corsini, *Diss.* i, p. 12. In Muratori's, 1959, 9, we have an example of an interval of two days—*Defunctus die XVI Kal. April. depositus XIIII Kal, i. e.* he died on March 17th, and was buried on March 19th.

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* See also "Contents" pp. vii, viii, ix, x.

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* Modern authors that are named without mention of the work or edition have been cited, generally, on the authority of De Rossi. In p. 65 the words—(*E coem. S. Hippolyti; De Rossi, n. 345*)—have been inadvertently omitted after the text of the Epitaph.

PA
3022
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McCaul, John
Christian epitaphs of the first six centuries

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